NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXII.

MAY, 1900.

THE GREAT SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

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THE immense and sparsely populated country of Siberia was for a long time merely an accidental adjunct of the Russian Empire. Its sole importance to the latter lay in the fact that it supplied valuable furs and precious metals. In spite of its enormous extent, its fertility and its various natural resources, it attracted very few Russians who possessed land in their own country. The population consequently increased but slowly.

The first emigrants to Siberia were men who were at variance with the conditions of life in their native country, and were obliged to leave it either of their own free will, or otherwise. To the majority of Russians, Siberia remained an inhospitable land, and its very name called up no other thought than that of cold, exile and dreary drudgery. Time, however, slowly but surely effected an improvement in the relations between Siberia and the mother country. On the one hand, the increasing population of Russia in Europe required more room, and this was to be found in the uninhabited parts of Siberia. On the other hand, the propagation of more exact information about its natural wealth and great fertility soon modified public opinion, and what had seemed but a land of exile began to exercise the allurements of a land of promise.

At that time the community of interests between Russia proper

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and its colony became daily more distinctly felt, and Siberia began to be of more vital importance to the former. Side by side with this slow economical evolution, a radical change took place, in the middle of this century, in the views of the governing bodies concerning Russia's political interests in Siberia. Simultaneously with the annexation of the Amur, Primorsk and Usuri territories, and the opening of Japan to foreigners, Russia firmly established herself on the shores of the Pacific and took steps to consolidate her power there. The time had now come when the Government had to face the main obstacles which prevented closer intercourse between the two countries, retarded the solution of Russia's political problems in Asia and stood in the way of the normal development of the region. These obstacles were time, distance and the vast extent of Siberia.

The only way to overcome these obstacles was by the construction of a railway throughout the whole extent of Siberia. This idea was first mooted about 1850, but the Russian Government for a long time hesitated to undertake the execution of this project, through apprehension of the immense expense it would entail. However, the present Minister of Finance, M. Witte, had the requisite faith in Russian financial resources. Being appointed Minister of Ways and Communications at the beginning of 1892, he rapidly conducted surveys of the railway line; and then, becoming Minister of Finance at the end of the same year, he insisted on the immediate construction of the great Siberian Railway.

According to the original plan, the direction of the Siberian Railway was to be as follows:

	Kilos.
From Chelyabinsk to Omsk, West Siberian Railway	1,415
From Omsk to Irkutsk Central Siberian Railway	1,828
From Irkutsk to Missoyaga, Baikal Railway	318
From Missoyaga to Stretensk, Transbaikal Railway	1,076
From Stretensk to Khabarovka, Amur Railway	2,132
From Khabarovka to Vladivostok, Usuri Railway	764

Some time later, two very important changes were made in this original scheme.

In consequence of the great technical difficulties presented by the Baikal line, and in order to accelerate the construction of a continuous railway through Siberia, it was decided to make a straight line from Irkutsk to Lake Baikal. The train was to cross the lake on special ice-breakers, similar to those in use between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan in America. In consequence of

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even greater difficulties presented by the Amur line, permission to construct and exploit a railway in Manchuria, connecting the Baikal line with Vladivostok, was obtained by the Russo-Chinese Bank from the Chinese Government. Thus the estimated length of the Siberian Railway was reduced by about 550 kilometres. In March, 1898, the Chinese Government permitted the construction of a branch to Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan, and in this way the Siberian Railway acquired two outlets to the Pacific, of which one is free from ice all the year round.

Though the project of constructing the Amur Railway was now left in abeyance, yet the junction of Vladivostok with Khabarovka was effected, and thus Russia will soon have both an uninterrupted railway route through Manchuria and a combined railway and waterway in the direction of Irkutsk, Stretensk, Shilka, Amur, Khabarovka, Vladivostok. The construction of the railway is very rapidly advancing, and the West Siberian, Central Siberian and Usuri lines actually are completed and opened for traffic. On the other portions, work is being carried on very energetically.

Let us now glance at this country, of which so little is known, and consider the present and prospective results of the construction of the railway. Siberia occupies 5,000,000 English square miles in the northern part of Asia. Its natural features are very varied. The western and northern parts of this enormous country consist of a level plain: in the north, the lifeless swamps (tundra) merge into a large tract of virgin forest. Further south, this is succeeded by rich steppes, which resemble the pampas, and extend to the mountains which occupy the southern and eastern part of Siberia.

The polar tundra zone occupies all the space north of the sixty-fourth degree of latitude. It is a swampy plain covered with moss and bush and frozen during the greater part of the year. Its soil never thaws to a greater depth than one foot, and consists of alternate layers of frozen earth or pure ice. Anything approaching civilized life is out of the question in this desolate land. Its sole inhabitants are a few nomadic tribes, who eke out a living by fishing, hunting and the breeding of reindeer.

The region between the fifty-seventh and the sixty-fourth degrees is covered with thick virgin forest, consisting of ancient cedars, larches, pines and other species of firs. Further south we find, in addition to these, birch, poplar, aspen and even linden

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trees; a great quantity of berry-bearing and other bushes increase the variety of plants, and hops and other climbers winding round the trees remind one of the virgin forests of America. In this vast region, with its boundless forest wealth, habitable spots are chiefly found on the banks of the different rivers.

To the south of this forest tract, we find a cultivated belt of land, very spacious in the west and much resembling a steppe. It extends as far as the mountains which stretch along the south of Siberia. The steppes of Western Siberia have the appearance of plains, covered with luxurious vegetation and birch groves. The soil is rich and fertile, and tends to promote the development of agriculture and settled life. In these steppes, there are large water basins like Lake Chany, surrounded by smaller lakes.

The Siberian mountains extend along the southern border of Siberia and then occupy its whole eastern part. They are remarkable for their beautiful views. Many picturesque spots in the Altai Mountains and Semiretchensk might be compared with those of Switzerland, and the Irtish flowing through the mountains resembles the Rhine.

Siberia extends from the Arctic Circle right away to the steppes of Central Asia, and therefore presents many varieties of climate. There are the perpetual frost of the lifeless tundra deserts, the tropical heat of Central Asia, the genial climate of the favored spots at the foot of the Altai Mountains, the balmy air in the oases of the Chui Valley and Lake Issik-Kul and the striking southern vegetation of the banks of Amur. Owing to those climatic variations, we meet with the most startling changes in natural features, and an amazing variety of flora and fauna.

Siberia possesses four great river basins, which are equal to those of the largest American rivers. Three of them—Obi, Yenisei and Lena, with their numerous tributaries—greatly facilitate the trade of the interior, and the fourth river, the Amur, facilitates intercourse between Central Siberia and the Pacific.

The population of Siberia consists of very various elements. After the bloody and rapid conquest of Siberia, it became for some time an El Dorado for hunters and gold diggers. Like the Spaniards in America, these were attracted by the thirst for gain, and they treated the natives with the most barbarous cruelty and plundered in the most irrational manner the natural treasures of the country. Some time later these rough and ready

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pioneers were succeeded by exiles. These were but few in number at first, but latterly there were as many as 18,000 to 20,000 yearly. The introduction of this element was of sinister import for Siberia. It was forced to accept criminals, who had been driven forth from their own country and who, hardened in their wickedness, could not but have a contaminating influence on the people they came among. Fortunately for Siberia, at the same time with this artificial colonization, a natural colonization was advancing, for men who had been unfortunate in their native land were attracted by the free life of Siberia and made their way thither in small but steady numbers. From these men, who had proved themselves enterprising and of great physical and mental vigor, the present population of Siberia has been evolved. It embodies all the best characteristics of the daring adventurers and *conquistadores* who first subdued it; of the exiles and emigrants, who went there in such numbers, and of the Cossacks and peasantry, whom the Government induced to settle there by the offer of large subsidies, hoping thereby to promote the development of agriculture. The unaided struggle with stern Nature called all their hardier qualities into play. The result is a vigorous, enterprising type, not unlike that which we meet with in the United States, Canada and Australia.

The Russian population of Siberia moved farther and farther eastward from the Ural Mountains through the southern part of Siberia; at present it occupies a broad, unbroken belt of land, which narrows down toward Lake Baikal. Small branches are found on the banks of the chief rivers, the Obi, the Yenisei, the Lena and the Usuri, and extend from the basin of the last to the shores of the Bay of Peter the Great. Besides this, little Russian communities are scattered about in different places.

The indigenous Mongol, Finnish and Tartar tribes of Siberia, which occupy immense tracts, are much smaller in number than the Russian population, whom they surround on all sides. Immediately beyond the Ural and north of the region entirely occupied by Russians, there lives the tribe of Voguls. Further north and northeast we find Siberian Tartars, Ostyaks, Samoyedes, Tunguses, Yakuts, Yukahirs, Koryaks, Tchuktchis, Kamchadales and Guiliaks. With the exception of the Tartars, who are partly settled, these are all nomadic tribes, and are engaged in hunting, fishing and cattle raising. In the extreme north, rein-

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deer breeding is carried on. South of the region occupied by Russians, there are settled Siberian Tartars, Kirghizes, Altayans, Kalmuks, Soyots and Buriats, who live only by cattle breeding and agriculture. Some of these elements of the Siberian population such as Tchuktchis, Guiliaks, Kamchadales, who are not amenable to the influences of civilization, are very scant in number, and will most likely die out altogether; others, such as Kirghizes and Buriats, on the contrary, are important ethnographical unities, and give promise of increased vitality.

The mineral wealth of Siberia, particularly in its eastern part, is fabulous; its extent is far from being finally determined, but it is certain that its treasures are almost inexhaustible. The area of its auriferous regions is much larger than that of the celebrated gold mines of California, Australia and Africa taken together. Beginning from the Alatau Mountains, of which both slopes are very rich in gold, this auriferous region extends eastward along the northern slope of the Saiansk Mountains in an almost continuous broad strip. Then it continues across both slopes of the Stanovoi and Yablonoi Mountains right away to the extreme east of Siberia. The extensive gold deposits of the Yenisei, Olekma, Vitim, and many other river systems, constitute, as it were, an immense addition to the chief gold area. Up to the present, gold has almost exclusively been obtained from sand. Mining of gold ores is carried on in the Yenisei, Altai and Transbaikal district, but only to a very small extent, owing to the difficulty of working and the lack of mechanical appliances.

In many parts there are lodes of copper, silver and lead. Those found on the branches of the Saiansk and Alatau Mountains, in the district of Nertchinsk and the Kirgiz steppe are particularly remarkable. The quantity of metal contained in the ores varies greatly. Silver, lead and copper mining reached a high point of development last century, but within the past twenty-five years this industry has begun to fall off, chiefly owing to the rise in the price of labor.

Iron and coal exist in great quantities throughout the whole extent of Siberia, from the borders of the Government of Orenburg to the mouth of the Lena, to Kamtchatka, the Island of Sagalien and the frontier of Korea. At the present time, coal is worked only in the Kuznetsk basin, on the Island of Sagalien and in the Kirgiz steppes. It is also proposed to exploit the

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coal beds recently discovered in the southern part of the Primorsk province. These have been surveyed and found to be very rich, and to contain some quantity of anthracite. Contiguous veins of coal and iron were found in some places, foundries were formed, but these have been in anything but a flourishing condition until quite lately, owing to the small demand for their output and their remoteness from the markets.

In Western Siberia, common salt is extracted from the self-depositing lakes, which occur in considerable numbers in the southern portion of the steppe region lying between the forty-seventh and fifty-fifth degrees of north latitude and the sixty-third and seventy-third degrees of east longitude (from Paris), which was once the bottom of a sea basin. In the northern portion of this salt basin, which embraces the Barabinsk and Kouloundinsk steppes, the salt lakes always contain a greater or less amount of other salts besides common salt. There are many lakes which contain rich layers of glauber salt only. In Eastern Siberia there are very rich beds of rock salt, but the best salt springs and layers are found in thinly inhabited districts, so that transport to the markets is very expensive, owing to the want of proper means of communication.

Besides all this mineral wealth, tin, mercury and sulphur are found in the Transbaikal territory; naphtha on the Sagalien Island and many kinds of precious stones, such as lapis-lazuli, topaz, beryl, aqua-marina, etc., in the Transbaikal territory.

In the basin of the Yenisei, large deposits of graphite are found. From experiments made in America, this seems to excel the Ceylon variety in purity.

Siberia has long been famous for its fur-bearing animals and the teeming wealth of its rivers and lakes. After agriculture and cattle breeding, fishing and hunting are the chief pursuits of the inhabitants. The shooting and trapping of squirrels is at present the main object of the chase. In the northern part of Eastern Siberia, where the slaughter of fur-bearing animals has not been quite so wholesale as in Western Siberia, more valuable fur-bearing animals, such as the marten, ermine, sable, fox and arctic fox, are caught. Beavers, which formerly existed in Kamtchatka, are now very rare, but the fur industries in the waters washing the Russian shores of the Pacific are much more important at present. Among the most important is the seal in-

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dustry, which is specially developed on the Commandorskie and Pribyloff Islands, the former belonging to Russia, the latter to America. From 1871 to 1891, 730,539 seal skins came into the market from Russian territory alone. Besides seals, the northern and eastern waters of Russia are very rich in sea calves, whales, sea lions and other marine animals.

The supply of fish in Siberia, and particularly in the rivers falling into the Pacific and Northern Oceans, is almost inexhaustible. The Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan abound in fish. The more valuable species of fish, kinds such as sturgeon and salmon, are so plentiful that while making their periodical progress from the seas to the rivers, they force each other on to the bank, whenever the stream happens to be shallow. Capital is so scarce, means of communication so scant, and the natives know so little of fish curing, that only so much fish has been consumed hitherto as was required locally, the remainder being sent to Japan by Japanese traders.

Notwithstanding the immense wealth of Siberia, manufacturing industry and trade have not been able to develop themselves to a corresponding extent, owing to the thinness of the population and the absence of cheap and suitable means of communication. Consequently, though there have been repeated attempts on the part of the Government and private individuals to establish industry on a large scale in Siberia, manufactories and works have been started there only with the greatest difficulty, and only such have succeeded as served to meet the modest wants of a small local population or produced an article of such value that it could bear the cost of carriage to a great distance.

Such was the general condition of the country at the time when the construction of the great Siberian Railway heralded the dawn of a new era.

Though the line will not be finished till 1902, some instances have already come to light which prove what a great civilizing effect it will have in future. Among others, we may note the rapid increase in the population. As we have already mentioned, the Russian Government long ago took various measures to attract pure Russian elements to Siberia. At present, the Russian Government deems it very necessary to consolidate Russian national feeling there in view of a possible invasion of the region by the yellow race in the near future. The Government has,

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therefore, taken this matter under its direct control, propagating exact information about Siberia, publishing special maps on a large scale, preparing and adapting sections of land for the settlement of immigrants by the help of local Government agents. Such places as still remain uninhabited, owing to their wild character, are carefully explored. There is yet but little land available for colonization, and which could be granted to newcomers without encroaching on the reserves of the old inhabitants, whether Russian or indigenous; and the greater part of these lands is already occupied.

Therefore, the Government has now permitted the occupation of tracts less suitable for culture, which have hitherto been waste land, as, for instance, the well-known Barabinsk steppe, which suffers from a lack of good water and is infested with insects that torment the inhabitants. Further, with a view to extending and enlarging the area for the reception of immigrants, forests are being cut down, drainage systems planned and wells sunk for the purpose of obtaining good water. In order to ensure the future prosperity of the immigrants, the Government is taking measures of every description to preserve the forests and natural riches in those parts intended for settlements. It furnishes material assistance and provides medical aid for immigrants who are usually of the poorer classes, and it has set aside a special fund for their benefit. In this way, regions which till quite lately were endless steppes, such as we find in Western Siberia, or dark, impassable forests, as in Eastern Siberia, even now, when the railway is far from being completed, already show a great animation. In many places along the line, settlements with a population of 8,000 or 9,000 have already sprung up, such as the settlement of Novonikolaevsk, near the bridge across the Obi, the station of Taiga at the beginning of the Tomsk branch, and the stations of Niman and Krasnaya-rietchka on the Usuri line. The following table shows the annual number of immigrants:

In	Men.	In	Men.
1887	25,137	1894	72,224
1888	35,848	1895	120,000
1889	40,195	1896	201,622
1890	48,776	1897	84,978
1891	87,432	1898	175,000
1892	92,146		
1893	64,321	Total	1,047,679

The Siberian Railway has brought into the country not only

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a new population, but new institutions and new culture. It was difficult for the new arrivals from Russia to adjust themselves to the legal forms which already existed. This fact prompted the Government to extend to Siberia the statutes of the Emperor Alexander II., relating to juries and the appointment of justices of the peace. The great importance of this reform can only be realized by Siberians, who, thanks to it, will really obtain speedy and equitable and clement justice, but who were previously tried in courts of an administrative character. In a short time this reform was followed by the long-wished-for abolition of transportation of criminals.

Simultaneously with the increase of population in the districts through which the Siberian Railway passes, and in proportion as it was opened to traffic, all kinds of industries, which already existed there, began to develop. It now seemed possible to export goods to the Russian and foreign markets, which could not be sent there under the former conditions of transport. The greatest improvement hitherto has been apparent in agriculture, which, as already stated, constitutes almost the sole occupation of the civilized inhabitants. Thanks to the railway, Siberian corn has found its way to foreign markets. Indeed, since the opening of the West Siberian line, the railway authorities have sometimes been unable to send off all the consignments of corn in proper time. These were often stored in large quantities along the line. In 1898, there were 6,500 wagon loads of corn stored in this way; 240 wagons were added daily, and the railway could only send off 120 wagons. The export to Russia of tallow, skins, wool and frozen meat has increased enormously of late years. This is one result of the development of cattle breeding in those districts traversed by the railway. Another is the increased activity in the butter-making industry, especially in the Province of Tobolsk. This industry has found a large market abroad, some 2,600,000 kilograms of Siberian butter having been exported in 1896.

Of course, these facts show only the small beginning of the great revolution which will be effected by the railway in all branches of Siberian economical life, in agriculture and cattle breeding, manufactures and trade. In the mining industry, we might say that at present attention is only given to the working of gold. Such a state of affairs is abnormal, for besides gold

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there are immense stores of other mineral wealth. The construction of a railway near rich seams of coal, iron, copper and other minerals will give an impulse to the working of them; for, on one hand, the railway itself will require some of the productions of mining industry; on the other, it will make it possible to largely extend the market for them, and thus will bring about a better organization of existing mining enterprises.

The construction of the Great Siberian Railway has even now begun to produce a marked effect on Siberian trade, which formerly was carried on entirely by monopolists. In each district or town there was a local capitalist, who laid in a stock of goods at the fairs of Nijni-Novgorod, or elsewhere, and then fixed his own prices according to the means of his customers, and competition was non-existent. An enterprising man, who had neither capital nor credit, could not compete with these monopolists, because of the absence of good means of communication. This abnormal state of affairs is already improving. The railway which has connected Siberia with centres of production has rendered travelling cheaper and quicker, and made capital circulate more freely. People of small means are now enabled to make long journeys for the purchase of stock, and they can enter into direct communication with the producers and wholesale merchants in large centres. The trade of Siberia has become more democratic, and increasing competition has effected a change in its character.

Notwithstanding the small population, the uniformity of occupation, the poverty of the inhabitants and the absence of important industrial centres along the line, the traffic on the portions of the railway already opened has exceeded all expectations. Instead of the former three pairs of trains each day, as originally intended, the managers have been obliged to send off five pairs daily. These convey consignments of raw materials, particularly grain, and are sent to the markets of Russia and Western Europe. Purely local loads sent from one part of Siberia to another are small in quantity, for, owing to the uniformity of occupation in Western and Central Siberia, large exchange of goods is unnecessary, and the country people can supply their own modest wants. The influence of the railway on the export of Siberian goods to the adjacent countries of Asia is so far also very insignificant. But, of course, this state of affairs is only temporary, and may be

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explained by the fact that the railway is not yet finished, and that Siberia is only beginning to emerge from very primitive conditions. With the termination of the railway and the influx of population and capital to the country, not only will the trade of the interior be developed, but Siberia will also supply the countries of Eastern Asia with manufactured goods.

One of the inevitable results, in conjunction with the influx of immigrants and capital, will be a greater division of labor, so necessary to the economical development of these dominions. In dependence on the natural and economical conditions, the population of each locality will devote their attention to one or many defined industries, and the railway will assure the sale of their goods either abroad or in other parts of Siberia.

As far as we can judge at present, Siberia will in future be divided into the following industrial regions:

(1.) The agricultural region, extending along the railway line from the Ural to Lake Baikal. The products of this region, which are principally grain, will be sent abroad through Russia in Europe and also to Eastern Siberia and Turkestan. The project of a branch line to Turkestan has already been discussed by the Administration, and its construction is merely a question of time. This branch line would indirectly be very advantageous to the whole Empire, for Siberian corn could be sent over it to Turkestan, and the inhabitants of that country would then devote their entire energies to the cultivation of the cotton plant.

(2.) Two cattle breeding regions, in Transbaikalia, and in the steppes of Western Siberia, south of the agricultural region.

(3.) The forest region, occupying the immense forests north of the agricultural region.

(4.) The fishing centres, along the shores of the Pacific and near the mouths of large rivers.

(5.) The mining and manufacturing region, which coincides with the basin of the Amur, and to which we may add the territory situated northeast of it and the Island of Sagalien. Owing to its mountainous character and the comparative absence of land suitable for agricultural purposes, the cultivation of cereals is not likely to be carried on here on a large scale, more especially as countries round about—Central and Western Siberia, Manchuria, Korea, Japan, China, India and America—are already well supplied with grain. We may presume that gold mining

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will for a long time remain one of the chief occupations of the inhabitants of this region. On the other hand, the abundance of coal and iron in this region—both such powerful aids to economical development—sufficiently guarantees the rise of the manufacturing industry at no very distant date. In the Amur territory, there will doubtless be a rapid growth of factories to supply the large demand for cotton goods in the neighboring countries of Manchuria and Korea. These factories will draw their supply of raw material from Russian Turkestan, China, Korea, India and North America. The importation of woollen stuffs to China and Japan, where no sheep breeding is carried on, is increasing yearly. It would be greatly to the advantage of the Amur manufactories to participate in this industry, as they could procure large quantities of cheap wool from Transbaikalia and Mongolia. Finally, the climate and soil of the Amur territory are both favorable for the cultivation of the sugar beet, tobacco, flax and hemp, the manufactured product of which may also find a market in the countries round about.

In the economical awakening of Siberia, and particularly of its richest part—the basin of the Amur—an important rôle will doubtless be played by the United States, which is the nearest civilized neighbor, with whom Russia can have no serious misunderstandings. The trade of North America with Vladivostok has hitherto not been very extensive, and has been confined to the importation of small quantities of flour, other foodstuffs, machinery, agricultural implements, leather, etc., from San Francisco. Owing to the absence of economical life in Siberia, nothing else, of course, was to be expected. But the small volume of trade up to the present time is no indication of what future years will bring about. In fact, an improvement has already been made, and American factories have supplied various materials, locomotives and rails particularly, for the Manchurian railway.

The Manchurian railway at present consists only of a single line, but the management has had the track made broad enough to admit of a double line, and its construction will follow in due course. For the construction of this second line 192,000,000 kilograms of rails will be required. Then, besides the amount of rails necessary for the smaller yearly repairs on the Manchurian and Siberian lines, and the proposed branches of the latter, 960,000,000 kilograms of rails will be required in ten years' time

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for a thorough repair of these railways. At the same time, a gradual renewal of the rolling stock will be necessary. At the rail, engine and car-building works of the United States work is as well done as in England, and at the same time much more quickly and cheaply; it is therefore certain that the United States will have many opportunities of supplying the Siberian and Manchurian railways with rails and rolling stock. In general, machinery and mechanical industries of America will find a large market in all parts of Siberia for their productions, such as machinery necessary for new manufactories and workshops, and for various mining industries, agricultural implements and appliances for the equipment of fishing and other vessels. It must be mentioned here that the Russian Government, in order to promote the economical development of Siberia, has sanctioned the importation, duty-free until 1909, of all plants necessary for the Siberian and Ural mining industry, through all her frontiers. Besides this, no customs dues are to be levied until 1903 upon fishing nets and machinery necessary for the different manufacturing and mechanical establishments of Siberia, which may be imported through the mouths of Siberian rivers.

Among other important articles exported from the United States, the following may find a market in the districts traversed by the Siberian railways: In Manchuria, cotton goods and sugar and steel and iron ware, which, as contracted between the Chinese Government and the company constructing the Manchurian railway, will be subject only to the ordinary Chinese customs duties when brought to Manchuria *via* Dalny; in Siberia, chemical goods, soap, fruit, hops, watches, musical instruments, cycles, typewriters, tinware, ready-made clothing and last, but not least, raw cotton for the factories, which, as stated above, will certainly spring up in the Amoor territory. Siberian productions which may find a market in the United States are hides, wool and especially coal.

It is not only the coal-fields of Siberia, but likewise all the rich stores of natural wealth, that are awaiting the advent of energetic and enterprising men. To such the Russian epithet "gold bottom," as applied to Siberia, will prove no misnomer. These vast treasures are lying idle because of the absence of capital and enterprise. In this respect Siberia offers a wide and important field of action to the capitalists of North America,

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who are famous for the breadth of their views and their energy. Every serious enterprise in Siberia in which American capital will be invested will be welcomed by the Russian Government.

The Siberian Railway will be an important factor in the trade of the world, as a means of transit between Europe and the Far East. It is true that, in this respect, it has rivals in the sea route through the Suez Canal, and the combined sea and land route through North America. Yet the Siberian Railway has on its side an advantage, which is most important in our day, and which is indicated in the old saw, "time is money." With the completion of this work, Port Arthur will be connected with St. Petersburg by a railway of 5,850 English miles, with Berlin of 6,350 English miles, with Paris of 7,100 English miles and with London of 7,300 English miles. With the quick trains on the European system, these distances could be covered in from eight to ten days (in five and a half days by the Nord Express). But even if we take the present speed of the West Siberian trains (twenty-two versts an hour), it follows that only eighteen days are necessary for the journey from Western Europe to Port Arthur. This speed can easily be increased to twenty-five versts an hour. Then the journey from London to the Far East will take the following time by the rival routes:

	To Yokohama.	To Shanghai.	To Hongkong.
Via Siberian Railway.....	18 days.	17 days.	20 days.
Via Suez Canal.....	34 days.	28 days.	25 days.
Via America.....	25 days.	31 days.	33 days.

This great advantage possessed by the Siberian Railway will cause an important revolution in the communications between Europe and the Far East. Firstly, the mails, for which speed is so essential, will be sent by this railway, and secondly, the greater part of the passenger traffic will come to it. It is true, that some apprehension is felt about the fatiguing effect of a long railway journey on the passengers, but in the special Siberian trains everything is done that can conduce to comfort and amusement. There are a library, bath rooms, and even cars fitted up for gymnastics. Of course, the railway journey is not so pleasant as the voyage on one of the excellent ocean steamers, when the weather is fine. But, first of all, the Chinese Sea and the Indian Ocean are never calm except in March and April, and, secondly, there is for two whole weeks no escape from the intense tropical heat when coming through the Suez Canal. The Canadian route,

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on the other hand, involves a double transfer from ship to train. We must also bear in mind the fact that the Siberian route will be the cheapest as well as the most rapid one. At present the journey from Paris or London to the ports of China and Japan, by the transoceanic route, costs, first-class, from 1,800 to 1,840 francs, including food. But owing to the very low fares charged for long distances in the Russian Empire, the overland journey will cost in all only from 800 to 950 francs—that is, only about half the cost of the route by Suez or America.

With the goods traffic, things will be different; for most commodities, the cost of transport is more important than speed; therefore, as far as all heavy merchandise is concerned, the railway cannot compete with the sea route. But, in spite of this, we may anticipate that the greater part of valuable goods from Russia, or Europe, to the Far East will be sent by railway, as, with a tariff of half a cent per English mile, per ton, the transport by land would only be slightly dearer than by sea, not to speak of the possibility of reducing the land journey to twenty-five or thirty days, whereas, by sea, at present, goods from Moscow to Vladivostok are forty-five days in transit. Goods which suffer from sea-damp and tropical heat will also be sent by the Siberian Railway.

The Manchurian railway will have at its own disposal steamers running between the *termini* of the Siberian Railway and the chief ports in the Far East, which will also tend to attract passengers and goods to the Siberian line.

The Siberian Railway will greatly consolidate Russia's position on the shores of the Pacific, facilitating the transport of important military forces thither at any time.

The outlay of the immense sum of four hundred million roubles for the construction of the railway obliges Russia to do her utmost to recompense herself for this outlay by developing the economical forces of Siberia and attracting as much traffic as possible to the railway. Therefore, from the moment when the railway is completed, Russia's principal task in the Far East will be, not the encouragement of political and territorial aggrandizement, but a ceaseless effort to promote peace and tranquillity, those main factors which will enable the Siberian Railway to play its economical part as the vital artery of Siberia and all the Old World.

MIKHAILOFF.

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JAPAN AND RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST.

BY JAMES MURDOCH.

AMONG the many strange developments in the history of the last three or four decades, the rise of Japan to the position of something like a great Power must be set down as one of the most remarkable. Doubtless, when the history of the period comes to be written calmly and dispassionately, and with a full command of materials, this achievement of the erstwhile hermit nation will be ranked with the unification of Italy and the formation of the new German Empire, and Okubo and Kido, with the younger men who followed them and carried on their work—Ito, Inouye, Mutsu, Okuma, Yamagata and Matsugata—will be credited with finding satisfactory solutions for problems quite as difficult and quite as complex as those that Cavour and Bismarck had to confront. In some respects the problems of the Japanese statesmen seemed much harder than those that had to be dealt with in Italy and Central Europe in the sixties. For in Japan it was not merely a matter of stripping a number of petty potentates of some or all of their powers, and of welding their subjects into one strongly compacted nation with all the institutions of a free people, for which the intelligent among these subjects had been longing for years. Here it was a case of passing from feudalism to modern industrialism, where competition is the regulating force, and where caste has no privileges. It was a transition from the despotism of some two hundred and sixty petty local princes, controlled in some ways by the still more crushing despotism of the Shogunate, to self-government and representative institutions, with powers and responsibilities quite as full as in most European States. And, so far from the people expressing any longing for these representative institutions, the very leaders of the national movement at first knew little or nothing about them, or even about their ex-

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istence in foreign lands. In the early sixties, we find Kido and Ito in disguise frequenting the house of an American citizen (the first Japanese naturalized in the United States), and eagerly questioning him about the system of government of the great Republic. It was Kido who presided in the first national deliberative assembly in 1869, and it is needless to say that Ito is the father of the present Japanese Constitution.

On the other hand, the makers of modern Japan had factors in their favor on which neither Cavour nor Bismarck could count in their efforts. In the first place, there was no religious problem to be dealt with in Japan; for the Japanese is an indifferentist in religion, and extremely tolerant of all beliefs, provided their profession does not militate against the independence and political interests of the country. In the second place, the apostles of the new order, from contact with foreign agencies, knew far more than their opponents did; and the superiority in knowledge and prowess evinced by the men of Satsuma and Choshiu was overwhelming; and so, backed up as they were by the powerful and progressively inclined clans of Hizen and of Tosa, after they had subverted the power of the Shogunate, they found themselves all-powerful.

Besides all this, in favor of the reformers there was a circumstance still more important. In Italy King Victor Emmanuel counted for something, and in Germany the King of Prussia counted for a very great deal. But in neither of these cases did the royal title carry with it anything like the moral authority that attached to the semi-divine name of the Mikado in Japan. Now, in accomplishing the overthrow of the Shogunate, the men of Choshiu and Satsuma had ostensibly made common cause with the ignorant and anti-foreign court nobles, who were bitterly opposed to all intercourse with the outside world. But once the Tokugawa power was crushed, the reformers soon made it clear to their allies that the exclusion policy on which their minds were bent was impracticable, and that the only course open to the country was the adoption of the very policy of international intercourse pursued by the Shogunate which had so excited their hate. In spite of themselves, the most bigoted exclusionists all of a sudden found themselves committed to liberal ideas. The Emperor himself, then sixteen years old, went to the Council of State, and before the nobles took an oath promising that "a de-

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liberative assembly should be formed; that all measures should be decided by public opinion; that the uncivilized customs of former times should be broken through; that the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature should be adopted as the basis of action, and that intellect and learning should be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the Empire." The extent to which this declaration of the youthful sovereign facilitated the work of the makers of modern Japan is simply incalculable.

It was in 1868 that this famous declaration was made, and the policy therein outlined has now been in operation for nearly a third of a century. With what precise measure of success it has been carried out it is not exactly easy to say. Certainly, some of the greatest men in Japan entertain no very optimistic views on the matter. Speaking to a representative of one of the Tokyo daily newspapers a short time ago, Marquis Ito very gravely asked whether, with the exception of her army and her navy, Japan has brought to creditable completion any one of the enterprises undertaken by her during the *Meiji* era. Of course, it is highly probable that, at the bottom of his heart, the Marquis is not nearly so pessimistic as his tone indicates him to be; the query was doubtless put with the view of stirring his countrymen to fresh efforts. But, in truth, any one fairly conversant with modern Japanese history must admit that modern Japan has been built up in pretty much the same fashion as that in which a Japanese erects his house. In the first place, piles are driven to support the beams on which the uprights are reared, and then the roof is put on, and the walls and the interior details are finally finished off, often in a very leisurely and sometimes in a very flimsy manner. Provision for the maintenance of order and for the security of personal property, and for a few of the other more essential elements of social stability, were made; and then the Japanese statesmen threw their main energies into the task of providing the country with an army and a navy that would make the nation not merely safe but also formidable, and so respected; and as to the success that has attended Japan's statesmen in putting on what may be regarded as the national roof, there is not much room for doubt.

However, when we turn to the progress made in the internal economy of the Empire, it must be admitted that the state of

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things there is not nearly so satisfactory as it might be. As regards population, Japan has more inhabitants than two of the great Powers of Europe—more than four of them if the British and French colonial possessions be left out of account. Yet, the total national wealth of this country of 44,000,000 inhabitants is not so very much greater than that of the small Kingdom of the Netherlands, with its population of 5,000,000. Lately, three estimates of the national wealth of Japan have been made by native statisticians. The highest of these sets down the national belongings at $7,500,000,000, the lowest at some $4,000,000,000, while the latest, and possibly the most trustworthy, one gives $5,600,000,000 as the approximate figure. (Some years ago the Dutch national wealth was valued at $4,000,000,000.) And as regards the gross annual earnings of the Japanese people, the comparison is not very much more satisfactory; for the last statistician referred to estimates these at no more than $825,000,000. For 1899, the foreign trade of Japan amounts to just $5 per head of the population. Of course, since the Revolution of 1868 there has undoubtedly been a very considerable increase of wealth in the country. Old industries have been expanded, and new and unheard-of industries have been set on foot and developed. But this development has been in comparatively few directions, and in several cases there seems to be ground for questioning the soundness of some of the most considerable of these enterprises. At present in Japan in the spinning industry there are some 1,050,000 spindles at work, and some of the companies have just paid extremely handsome dividends. But a year or less ago a good many of these concerns were in a bad way; several of them paid no dividends at all, while others actually got into the bankruptcy court. And foreign experts who have been through some of these establishments assert that their reserve funds are insufficient, and that what they allow for wear and tear of machinery is glaringly inadequate. Many of the recently established enterprises suffer from a sad dearth of capital, and indeed the great problem in Japan is how to effect the introduction of capital from abroad.

But, besides a lack of capital, there is a lack of something quite as important. The great captain of industry has not yet appeared in Japan in anything like the numbers the development of the national resources demands; while even the few able and enterprising native capitalists find their efforts checked by a

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woeful dearth of lieutenants capable of executing their projects. The greatest of the few millionaires has in his service as an adviser one of the shrewdest and most capable business men in the Far East. Time and again, this long-headed Scotchman has laid before his principal projects that promised a sure return of thirty, forty and even fifty per cent. on the money invested. And, time and again, his chief, on going through the facts and figures put before him, has said: "All that you represent is perfectly correct. But yet there is one fatal objection to undertaking the enterprise: Where are we to get the men to carry it through?" On account of this two-fold lack of capital and of capable managers, the industry and commerce of the country do not expand at anything like the rate one would naturally expect. Such enterprises as the Formosan Railway (with a Government guarantee of six per cent.) and the Seoul-Fusan Railway cannot be proceeded with, while the valuable concessions obtained in China by the Shimonoseki Treaty remain almost entirely unexploited. And another circumstance militates yet more strongly against the growth of Japanese commerce. While there are not a few merchants in the country whose word is as good as their bond, yet it has to be confessed that the average Japanese trader's standard of commercial morality is anything but a high one. However, this unfortunate fact admits of explanation, if not of excuse; and there seems to be ground for believing that, with lapse of time and the teachings of bitter experience, the old maxim that "Honesty is the best policy" will be appreciated at something like its real value. This phase of the situation has been dwelt on at some length; for, in the case of a struggle with Russia, hostilities will not be confined to one campaign or even to two. In the end, the affair will come to be a question of staying power and of national resources. And it is in this matter of national resources that Japan's ultimate weakness lies.

To revert to our house-building simile, the walls and the interior furnishings of the national structure are not particularly sound in one or two other respects. The state of communications leaves much to be desired. Complaints about the vagaries of the postal and telegraph services are both loud and frequent. In such a progressive country as Japan one would expect the express trains on the main Government line to make a better record than three hundred and seventy-six miles in sixteen or seventeen hours.

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Furthermore, from the flimsy fashion of its construction, portions of the line in question get washed away, or at least so badly damaged as to impede the traffic for days, three or four times every year. Nowhere in Japan are the roads macadamized; in the metropolis itself, with the exception of the avenues in front of the Imperial Palace, the streets become quagmires or paddy fields when it rains, and dust clouds when a dry wind blows. Much has been written about the electric tramways of Japan. As a matter of fact, Nagoya has about one mile and Kioto some three miles of them.

With respect to education, matters are far from being as they should be. There are some 60,000 elementary school teachers in Japan, but 30,000 more are wanted, and cannot be found. Nor is this any matter for astonishment when the average pay is some twelve or fifteen (American) cents *per diem,* and when a jinrikisha puller makes twenty-five (American) cents easily. In mere attendance at elementary schools, Japan (with some sixty-seven per cent. of her school population) is ahead of Russia, the Balkan States and the whole of southern Europe; twenty per cent. behind Austria-Hungary, and much more in the rear of all the other central and northern European countries. In provision for higher and university education, she is behind not only the whole of Europe (comparing as she does unfavorably with such hopeless countries as Portugal and Roumania), but even all the debt-ridden Republics of South America, except Brazil and Paraguay. And from top to bottom, with a stray exception here and there, the instruction given is more noted for its inefficiency than for anything else. From the scope of this indictment, however, naval, military and medical education must be emphatically excluded.

Yet, unsatisfactory and in a manner depressing, at first view, as all this is, it ceases to be so very disquieting when one takes a calm and dispassionate survey of the nation's history and achievements during the last thirty years. The simple fact is that the revolution of 1868 and the course it committed the country to, demanded that new efforts and enterprises should be made in scores of directions. For every one of these, money was necessary; and so the tax upon the national resources was enormous. As a consequence, as time went on, the Government saw that it must throw its main efforts upon vital essentials, and leave less important undertakings in a more or less unsatisfactory con-

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dition. The main and most urgent concern was to get the national roof on; under its sheltering protection the walls might be finished off at leisure. Now that Japanese statesmen have all but brought the object of their chief concern to a successful completion, it is not unnatural to conclude that they will presently address themselves vigorously to putting the internal economy of the country into a more efficient condition than it is in at present.

That Japan has had to make great efforts and great sacrifices to provide herself with her splendid army and navy, does not admit of the least question. One instance, although in itself trifling, as regards the $5,000,000 or $6,000,000 it brought into the treasury, will serve to illustrate this proposition. In 1892-93 Marquis (then Count) Ito found himself confronted by a hostile majority in the Lower House, who, by refusing supplies, seemed likely to interfere seriously with the Government's programme of naval expansion. The difficulty was got over by the issue of an Imperial Rescript, stating that the Emperor gave up ten per cent. of the Civil List for the following six years, and ordering all Government officials to surrender the same percentage of their salaries for the same time, to be devoted to the construction of warships. Every official at first obeyed cheerfully; but, as time went on, although there were no open expressions of discontent, there was much secret grumbling among the middle and lower ranks of the public servants. Many of these found it hard to live on their salaries at the best of times, and when a man drawing some five dollars per month was called upon to hand over fifty cents of that sum, as indeed happened, his financial situation became very serious. Many of the ablest and most capable officials exerted themselves to find employment elsewhere, and the men who took their places were not, as a rule, very noted for ability. There is little doubt that the measure in question resulted in impairing the efficiency of the Civil Service of the country. But it accomplished the end it aimed at, and it was on the whole a well-considered step.

Since the conclusion of the war with China, there has been a great expansion of Japan's armaments. What this expansion amounts to may perhaps be best gathered by glancing at the official classification of the ships in the Japanese fleet, issued some short time ago by the Minister of Marine, and observing the position in it held by the vessels with which Japan annihilated the sea power of China. Leaving out smaller craft, we find the present Japanese

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Navy classified as first and second class battleships, and first, second and third class cruisers. In the war of 1894-95, Japan had only one small battleship, which now stands at the very bottom of her list. The "Fuso" is now some two and twenty years of age; and, with her tonnage of 3,700, she makes a poor appearance alongside the four monsters of from 12,500 to 15,000 tons that now appear as the list of first-class battleships. Even alongside the other vessel in the second class, the "Chinyen," of 7,400 tons, captured from the Chinese at Wei-hai-wei, she looks diminutive. But in speed there is not much to choose between these two, both steaming about thirteen knots, and being a pair of veritable lame-ducks in comparison with the four new first-class battleships, which can accomplish eighteen or nineteen knots.

In 1895 Japan possessed none of the four first-class cruisers (of some 9,800 tons) now entered in the official list. The brunt of the strife at the battle of the Yalu fell upon six of the nine second-class cruisers now in the navy, three new ones—the "Takasago," the "Kasagi" and the "Chitose" having been built since then. In addition to that, the torpedo flotilla has been greatly augmented, while of the score of torpedo-destroyers included in the ship-building programme (twelve built or building in England, four in France and four in Germany), more than half are already in Japanese waters, and the others will soon arrive.

From this it will appear that the naval strength of the country in 1895 is only a fraction of what it will be early this summer, shortly after the time of the projected grand naval manœuvres. The addition of the captured Chinese battleship, "Chinyen," of 7,400 tons, does not count for very much, but the four new first-class battleships (probably the "Asahi" will be here by midsummer), of a gross tonnage of close on 55,000, and a gross complement of 2,681 men, add immeasurably to the sea power of Japan. Two of these—"Fuji" (12,450) and "Yashima" (12,140)—are almost exact reproductions of the British "Royal Sovereign," while the "Shikishima" and the "Asahi," of about 15,000 tons each, are improved "Majestics." Besides these four, two other battleships of the same type as the "Shikishima" are building in England—the "Hatsuse" at Elswick, and an unnamed vessel at Barrow, but the "Hatsuse" was not to be handed over until March, 1900, and the other ship a good deal later on.

Four of the six new first-class cruisers included in the ship-

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building programme have either already arrived, or will arrive in summer. And in every respect these constitute a formidable increase to Japan's naval strength, for it is more than probable that they themselves could give a good account of the whole fleet possessed by Japan at the time of the late war, if pitted against it. Ranging from 9,400 to 9,875 tons, they are a trifle larger than the United States' "Brooklyn" (9,215 tons), and fully as powerful fighting machines. They have about the same speed as she, the "Asama," for example, at her trials doing 20.37 knots with natural and 22.07 with forced draught. The "Brooklyn" carries a heavier armament, having eight 8-inch against the "Asama's" four 8-inch guns, although against the "Brooklyn's" twelve 5-inch the Japanese cruiser carries fourteen 6-inch guns. As regards protection, the advantage is with the Japanese ships; for against the "Brooklyn's" belt of 3 inches, the "Asama" has one of 7 inches of Harveyized steel. The four Japanese cruisers are likewise protected in their gun positions by 6 inches of the same material, a fact which gives them a considerable advantage over the Russian "Rurik" (10,923 tons) and "Rossia" (12,130 tons), whose batteries have practically no protection. As the "Rossia" steams twenty and the "Rurik" only eighteen knots, against them the "Asama" and her consorts should show to advantage, in spite of the circumstance that these two Russian vessels have slightly stronger secondary batteries.

Even as regards second-class cruisers, the addition of three new vessels to the six that fought at the Yalu is no inconsiderable item. Of these the "Takasago" (4,160 tons), built at Elswick, has a speed of twenty-four knots, and an armament of two 8-inch, ten 4.7-inch, twelve 12-pounders, six 2½-pounder quick-firers and five torpedo tubes. The two American-built vessels—the "Kasagi" at Philadelphia, and the "Chitose" at San Francisco—are slightly larger, but slightly slower, the tonnage of the former being 4,978 and of the latter 4,836, with a speed of nearly twenty-three knots.

Of smaller craft, the official list gives five third-class cruisers, ten coast-defense ships, two first-class and fifteen second-class gunboats, with four despatch vessels and a torpedo depot ship. Besides the destroyers already alluded to, other vessels below second-class cruiser rank are being constructed; but, as they will not be available by summer, there is no need to enter into particulars about them. By that date the Japanese navy will have a tonnage of

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something between 210,000 and 220,000 tons, against the Russian of 85,000 to 90,000 (including the "Petropavlovsk"), unless, as will doubtless be the case, more Russian ships be sent to the East.

This expansion of the Japanese naval force is certainly a remarkable one. But what, perhaps, is equally noteworthy is the phenomenal development of her mercantile marine. In 1893, exclusive of native craft, Japan had a tonnage of 155,000 tons. At present she has between 600,000 and 650,000 tons of merchant shipping. This is to a great extent the result of substantial Government subsidies. In 1894-95, the country had to make considerable efforts to provide herself with a fleet of fifty-one transports. A fleet of twice as many vessels is now readily available.

When we turn to the matter of her land forces, we find that since 1894 Japan has been far from idle. At the beginning of that year, the Japanese army on a peace footing consisted of 69,000 officers and men. After the war with China, a programme of army expansion was laid down, in terms of which the Japanese land forces were ultimately to amount to 145,000 men on a peace footing, and between 530,000 and 540,000 men on a war footing. What progress has been made with that programme may be inferred from the fact that, at the end of 1898, there were 120,800 men with the colors, besides 4,520 students in the military schools, while the first reserve numbered over 115,000 and the second 75,000 men. Now, of course, these figures have been very considerably increased, and even at present on a war footing the army may be safely placed at not less than 360,000 men of all arms.

It is by no means uninteresting to note some of the details of this expansion programme. In 1894, besides the Imperial Guards and Yezo militia, the Japanese army consisted of six divisions. The headquarters of these were at (from north to south) Sendai, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima (all in the main island) and at Kumamoto in Kiushiu. With the exception of the last, all these places are on the Pacific or inland sea littoral—facing away from Siberia, that is. Now the Yezo militia has been abolished and a seventh division has been formed in the Hokkaido, while five more are being established at Marugame in Shikoku, at Kokura near the Straits of Shimonoseki, at Fukuchiyama, at Kanazawa and at Hirosaki—all on the coast of the Sea of Japan. That is, *five of the new divisions directly front Korea or Siberia.* Japan has evidently made up her mind to make her back door secure. Her

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Pacific Ocean and Inland Sea approaches are so strongly fortified that any invasion from these quarters is impossible. At the time of the war with China her weak point was at Tsuruga, on the Japan Sea, almost directly behind Osaka and Kioto, the second and third cities in the Empire, and the chief seats of her nascent manufactures. With Tsuruga Bay fortified as it now is, and flanked by army divisions at Fukuchiyama on the west and at Kanazawa on the east (now with railway communication), any hostile landing at that point is effectually provided against.

In view of all this, it will be readily conceded that, to revert to our figure of speech, in their efforts to provide the national structure with a sound and thoroughly weather-proof roof, Japanese statesmen have been phenomenally successful. That an ordinary nation of 44,000,000 inhabitants should have accomplished so much should not perhaps afford any great matter for surprise. But, as already pointed out, although having the population of a first-class Power, Japan, as regards wealth and resources, is not so very much ahead of the small Kingdom of the Netherlands, or of Scotland—if, indeed, she be ahead of the latter at all. Naturally enough, then, this effort has taxed her very severely, and it is only the consummate ability of her rulers and certain exceptional circumstances that have enabled her to accomplish it.

By a certain authority the Japanese have been characterized as "artistic and all that, but muddle-pated in the matter of business." Doubtless, the criticism is not without point, for in his transactions the average Japanese trader gives very few indications of the possession of any considerable financial capacity. But the management of the National Treasury has all along been in the hands of no mere average men. Under its successive ministers—Okuma, Matsugata and Watanabe—the Department of Finance has been exceedingly well administered. Lately, it is true, certain of its minor measures have evoked a good deal of adverse criticism, but these are but petty blemishes in a sound twenty years' record. In 1887 the national debt stood at yen 307,000,000; seven years later (just before the outbreak of the Chinese war in 1894) it had been reduced to yen 283,500,000. Besides, at that date there was an accumulated surplus of yen 23,439,000 (say $11,700,000) in the Treasury. It was to this accumulated surplus that the Government first had recourse at the opening of hostilities. As they progressed, domestic loans to the amount of $58,400,000 were raised,

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and as these loans have not been refunded, and as other small liabilities have been incurred, Japan's national debt (without including the £10,000,000 English loan) stands at some $207,000,000, with annual charges of $11,400,000, or some 25 cents per head of the population.

Out of the war with China, Japan netted a very large sum of money. Including the money spent in the reduction of Formosa, down to March 31, 1896, the total cost of the hostilities with China amounted to almost exactly $100,000,000. (This amount, it may be remarked, included $3,500,000 for rewards, and some $2,800,000 for the expenses of the Formosan Government, for arsenal construction and for a submarine cable to Formosa.) Together with the $22,500,000 received for the retrocession of the Liautung Peninsula, the Chinese indemnity brought into the national purse a total of $182,500,000. Thus, Japan's direct monetary gain was as much as $82,500,000. Of this total of $182,500,000, only about $40,000,000 were employed to defray the actual expenses of the war. Between $28,000,000 and $29,000,000 have been devoted to army expansion, of which about $24,000,000 will have been expended by the end of this year. No less a sum than $69,600,000 has been apportioned for the development of the navy, of which over $50,000,000 has already been disbursed. In addition, $15,000,000 have been set aside for the maintenance of warships. As regards the disposal of the remainder of the indemnity, the main items are $10,000,000 presented to the Emperor, $6,000,000 spent on Japan's white elephant, Formosa, $5,000,000 as a fund to provide against the disasters of nature, and $5,000,000 as an educational fund. In reality, these last two sums constitute a war reserve, for it is only the interest accruing from their investment that is devoted to the purposes specified.

It thus appears that, including the $15,000,000 set apart for the maintenance of warships, Japan has a war reserve of $25,000,000. Besides, in the event of an early outbreak of hostilities, the late London loan of (nominally) £10,000,000 would be available. However, as the flotation of that loan was not attended with the measure of success that might have been expected, that sum of £10,000,000 represents no more than $43,000,000 or $44,000,000. Then the unexpended portion of the amount devoted to army and navy expansion could also be utilized, while the Budget for the next year shows an estimated surplus of about $23,000,000 in the

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ordinary accounts. Thus, in the event of war, the immediate financial resources of the Government would be ample for the prosecution of one campaign at least.

To speak generally, in the event of no occurrence to disturb the ordinary course of affairs, the national finances of Japan are thoroughly sound. It is true that the results of the flotation of the loan in England might readily convey a very different impression. But these results are not difficult to explain. The shortly preceding or simultaneous issue of Chinese and Russian loans may have had something to do with the matter. But not nearly so much as Japanese financiers assert. In the case of the Chinese loan, security was offered. As security for her obligations, Japan steadfastly refused to pledge anything but the national credit. Now, the average investor, not so very mistakenly, has no high ideas of the credit of the ordinary Japanese, and this, doubtless, made him look somewhat askance at the investment. But the credit of the Japanese Government is a very different thing indeed from the credit of the average Japanese business man. So far, the Government has been most punctilious in the discharge of all its financial obligations, and there are no apparent grounds for believing that there is to be any change in its traditions in this respect. But between the financial record of the Japanese Treasury and that of the merchant, the British investor did not trouble to distinguish. Furthermore, the Japanese authorities were not without blame in the matter. From the finicking finance of the preceding year—parliamentary squabbles over a slight increase of the land tax, the raising of post and telegraph rates, and the imposition of a few petty taxes that brought in no revenue to compensate for the vexation they caused—the impression got abroad that the Government was terribly put to it to make ends meet. How incorrect that impression was may be inferred from recent developments. In 1895 the *saké* tax brought in $7,800,000; since its augmentation it fully provides the $27,000,000 or $28,000,000 necessary to defray the ordinary annual expenditure on the army and navy. It is quite true that, when the new army divisions are fully established and all the new ships are added to the navy, the expenses of these two services will be quickly increased. But the returns of the *saké* tax bid fair to increase even more quickly, and it is seriously proposed to raise the rate of the excise. Then, with the recovery of her tariff autonomy, the returns of Japan's

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customs are rapidly growing in amount. An indication of the true position is afforded by the Budget estimates for next year. The ordinary revenue is therein set down at $96,500,000; the ordinary expenditure at something over $73,000,000. Of course, it is perfectly true that for more than the $23,000,000 surplus even Japan could readily find profitable employment. For the walls of the national house are still in a most unfinished and most unsatisfactory state. For example, for some years down to 1896, the annual losses from inundation were over $30,000,000; in that year they mounted up to $68,000,000, or $19,000,000 in excess of the total revenue for 1895-96. And most of this loss is preventable. Then, as already remarked, education is in a chaotic state, and communications are still very defective, while if Japanese judicial officials are ever to command that respect and confidence from foreigners that they ought to command, the sum of $2,000,000 annually appropriated to the service of the Ministry of Justice must be very much augmented. And these are only a few of the many matters in the internal economy of the country that urgently need to be taken in hand in real earnest. But perhaps the time for dealing with such affairs in any thorough-going and resolute manner is not just yet. On the mainland of the continent across the water, events are in progress that will continue to claim Japan's keenest attention and probably the exercise of her best energies. For there interests of vital importance to her are gravely involved.

These interests are, of course, more immediately of a political nature. But, besides purely political interests, others of even more serious ultimate importance are at stake. For her economic fabric bids fair to be placed in great jeopardy. It is not, perhaps, very generally recognized that at no very distant date Japan will have to face a population question. In 1872 the population of the islands was officially returned at a little over 33,000,000. It now stands at some 44,000,000 (exclusive of Formosa), or an increase of thirty-three per cent. in twenty-eight years. Possibly, however, it has not been quite so much as the figures indicate, for no census, such as is periodically made in Occidental countries, has hitherto been taken in Japan. The returns are based on the registration system of the country, and that, although yet not quite exhaustive, is now much more complete than it was in 1872. But, granting all that, from the returns of the excess of births over deaths, it ap-

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pears that some 400,000 fresh mouths have yearly to be provided for. Now, if it be borne in mind that no more than fourteen per cent. of the 112,000 square miles of old Japan are under cultivation, and that this extent can be added to only with the greatest difficulty, it will readily be conceded that 400,000 fresh mouths yearly added to the odd 43,000,000 these 16,000 square miles have to support, afford substantial grounds for apprehension. Yezo has now just about as many inhabitants as Philadelphia had at the last census, and it will never be able to carry as many as New York and Brooklyn contain at present. The addition of Formosa to the Empire affords no appreciable alleviation to the congestion of the population, for the Japanese succumbs to the diseases of a tropical climate even more quickly than the Caucasian. At this date it is doubtful if there be even 5,000 Japanese settlers in the new possession. Nor does emigration tend to solve the difficulty to any remarkable extent. At present there are not 75,000 Japanese in foreign countries, even including the soldiers Lord Charles Beresford imagines to have been smuggled into Korea under the guise of coolies and merchants. Now, Japan has been in the past, still is mainly, and must be for years, an agricultural country. Hitherto, as a rule, she has managed to raise most of her foodstuffs, and even to export rice to the amount of some $3,000,000 annually. But in 1897 she had to import foodstuffs to the value of $23,000,000. It is true that as an offset she exported the usual $3,000,000 worth of cereals in that year; but still she was $20,000,000 to the bad in her food bill. This is small compared with the British deficit of £170,000,000 for the same year; but when it is stated that $20,000,000 represented one-ninth of the total foreign trade of Japan (an agricultural, and not, like Great Britain, a manufacturing country), the circumstance looks somewhat serious. Still more serious would such an incident prove, if Japan had, as she will have a few years hence, a few extra million mouths to feed when her harvest failures occur.

An escape from this menace of a congested population can be found only in one or other or both of two directions. In the first place, Japan may, as she will undoubtedly endeavor to do, borrow a leaf from the economic history of England, and throw her energies into the development of her nascent manufactures. But for any very greatly increased volume of products a foreign market must be found, and there, of course, competition has to be

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faced. Even on the fairest of footings, Japanese manufacturers will for long achieve no very brilliant success in such competition, and with a differential tariff against them they would have no chance of success whatsoever. Korea and northern China promise to prove one of their very best future markets; if, however, these districts pass under the rule of the Muscovite, the promise will have but a scanty fulfilment. But, even in the most favorable circumstances, it is extremely questionable whether any possible expansion of her manufactures will ever in itself supply a satisfactory solution of Japan's population question when it becomes really pressing. It seems imperatively necessary that over-sea territories should be found to receive the overflow of her rapidly increasing surplus subjects. And it is only in the Peninsula across the Straits of Tsushima that such territory can be found. How many inhabitants there are in the 80,000 square miles of Korea is not exactly known, the estimates varying from 6,000,000 to 15,000,000, the true figure, perhaps, lying midway between these extremes. Anyhow, the Peninsula may safely be expected to be equal to the support of another 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 souls. Her soil is not infertile, great tracts of it being said to be well suited for sericulture, while she is supposed to be rich in mineral resources. Even as things now stand, she annually exports as much rice as Japan does, and beans to the value of $1,000,000; and with good government these exports could be multiplied enormously. But good government Korea never will have, so long as she suffers from what is termed her "independence." The course of events has pretty conclusively shown that the Koreans are not capable of governing themselves, and that the figment of "independence" is soon destined to be swept into the limbo of obsolete expressions. About that there is not very much room to doubt; as to whether her destiny is to be counted as a Russian province, or an appanage of Japan, there will in all likelihood be some very keen debate, in which even the *ultima ratio regum* may be invoked as the final and conclusive argument.

For if, as has been shown, Japan is vitally concerned about getting seated in the Peninsula, Russia is concerned about keeping the islanders out of all political control of it. Already they hold one side of the Korean Straits—the Island of Tsushima is strongly fortified—and if they were to establish a strong naval base on the southern coast of the Peninsula, at Masampho or else-

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where, they would have full command of the sea communications between Port Arthur and Vladivostok. And with the whole of Korea in Japanese hands, the overland connections between the two Russian bases would never be safe.

Thus, apart from all questions of national prestige, or of wounded national *amour propre*, the decision of the ultimate fate of the moribund Empire of Korea can scarcely fail to cause Japan to direct her keenest attention to the actions of her rival for supremacy in the northeastern Pacific. But questions of national prestige and of wounded national pride are also acutely involved. The average Japanese primary school teacher, who has to contrive to make ends meet on three or four dollars per month, is not exactly the sort of man that can be expected to take any very wide view of the national economic necessities. Yet, in 1896-97, several of these at least were making a point of impressing on the minds of their charges of eight or ten years of age the indispensable necessity of their "growing up to be strong enough to chastise Russia." For this, it is fair to say, they were rebuked by their superiors; yet the circumstance is by no means without its significance. The average Japanese is exceedingly anxious to express in a practical form his gratitude for the "good advice" tendered by Russia and her allies in April, 1895, in consequence of which Japan had to withdraw from the Liautung Peninsula. That advice had also the effect of reviving the well-nigh dead recollection of Enomoto's negotiations at St. Petersburg in 1876, when, in exchange for Sagalien, Japan acquired the Kurile Islands. Furthermore, the ill-will against Russia excited by her intervention was not diminished by the subsequent march of events in Korea.

In the summer of 1895 Japanese influence at Seoul was paramount. While he was Minister there, Count Inouye was undoubtedly by far the most powerful man in the Peninsula, and Inouye honestly tried to exercise all the great power he wielded for the best interests of the little kingdom. The administration was fundamentally reformed, codes of law were being drafted with the advice of Japanese experts, the finances were being put upon a sound basis (Japan advancing a loan of yen 3,000,000), and the army organized and trained by Japanese officers. It was just at this time that the following conversation between a member of the Japanese Diet, who had gone to Seoul, and the Russian representative there was reported in the Tokyo press:

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"Mr. Shiba: The latest newspapers from Europe contain a statement that your country intends to acquire in the East a port open during all seasons of the year. May I ask you whether there is any truth in that report?

"Mr. Waeber: There is no truth in that. Such statements may perhaps be found in English papers. The English are very cunning. They always say bad things about us in their papers, and thereby inflict no small injury upon Russia. The story that Russia intends to obtain such a port is a canard manufactured by the English. Russia does not pursue an aggressive policy. You know that she had not invaded any country during the past ten years. You may conclude from this that Russia has no ambition either to make any conquest or to obtain a port in these waters."

In the summer of 1895 Russian influence did not count for very much in Korea, but still it was even then at work below the surface. On Inouye's return, Miura succeeded to the post of Japanese Minister, and on October 8, 1895 (five weeks after his arrival), the Korean Queen was murdered. This terrible outrage was a deadly blow to the Japanese power in the Peninsula. Why Miura was so bitterly opposed to the Queen is not precisely known; for rejecting the counsel of Inouye (impressed upon him again and again) to make a friend of the ablest Korean in the Kingdom his reasons must have been very strong. At all events, on the dead body of the Queen a letter to the Court of St. Petersburg was found requesting it not to transfer Mr. Waeber, its representative in Seoul, to another post, as it proposed to do. Then on February 11, 1896, the King and the Crown Prince carried out a project that had been maturing for some time, and took up their quarters in the Russian Legation. Here they remained until February 20, 1897, and during this year, of course, Russian influence in Seoul gathered force apace. The sixty or seventy Japanese advisers previously in the service of the Korean Government either withdrew or were discharged, and all the reforms set on foot in 1895 were practically nullified. Naturally, all this caused uneasiness in Japan, uneasiness all the greater because of the false position she had been placed in by the *coup* of October 8, 1895. However, what could be done she did, and in June, 1896, the Lobanov-Yamagata Convention, defining the attitude of the two Powers toward Korea, was signed at St. Petersburg. However, the language of this document was somewhat vague; at all events it did not suffice to prevent the Muscovites from sending officers to organize the Korean troops at Seoul, and from a bold attempt to get the management of the Korean finances into their

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hands by procuring the appointment of Adviser to the Treasury and of Superintendent of Customs for a Russian official. The document published in the Tokyo journals as a copy of the agreement under which the services of Mr. Alexieff were secured for these positions was in many ways a remarkable one. His services were merely lent to Korea by Russia; the latter paid his normal salary, which Korea supplemented by an honorarium of $1,500 *per annum*. The period of his engagement was to be unlimited, and, in the event of his withdrawal, no national other than a Korean or a Russian was to be appointed to the office. However, on his arrival in Seoul, M. Alexieff did not find it all smooth sailing. Some time before, Mr. McLeavy Brown, a British subject, had been installed in these very positions, and as Mr. Brown's contract had a good many years to run, he refused to take notice of dismissal from the Korean Government; and, as a matter of fact, he is still in these posts to-day. However, the Russian official did act for some short time in his capacity of Financial Adviser. Meanwhile, Japanese diplomacy had been at work to get the vagueness of the Lobanov-Yamagata Convention rectified, and on April 25, 1898, the Nissi-Rosen Protocol was signed, whose three short articles are worthy of full quotation:

"Art. I. The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia definitively recognize the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and mutually engage to refrain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country.

"Art. II. Desiring to avoid every possible cause of misunderstanding in the future, the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia mutually engage, in case Korea should apply to Japan or to Russia for advice and assistance, not to take any measure in the nomination of military instructors and financial advisers, without having previously come to a mutual agreement on the subject.

"Art. III. In view of the large development of Japanese commercial and industrial enterprise in Korea, as well as the considerable number of Japanese subjects resident in that country, the Imperial Russian Government will not impede the development of the commercial and industrial relations between Japan and Korea.

"Done at Tokyo, in duplicate, this 25th day of April, 1898."

Meanwhile, there had been happenings which at their occurrence greatly puzzled the journalists of the Far East, but which subsequent developments readily accounted for. Toward the end of 1897, Russia had asked for the exclusive concession of some land on Deer Island, which had been previously staked off as a site for a foreign settlement, and the request had been met by

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shuffling and evasion. About the same time, the Korean interpreter to the Russian Legation had been set upon and nearly done to death by some of his own countrymen. Besides, there were other indications that the Koreans were becoming very restive under Muscovite domination. But all this did not prepare observers to expect what seemed to be M. de Speyer's extraordinary action in sending his famous despatch of March 7, 1898, to the Korean Foreign Office. The following translation of that document is from the Seoul *Independent:*

"Recently I have been informed that there exists a deplorable condition of affairs in Seoul; many idlers among your people, claiming to be gifted politicians, create disturbance by opposing Russian interests. This state of affairs naturally causes great surprise to my Imperial Sovereign, the Emperor of Russia. At the request of your Imperial Sovereign and your Government, the Russian Government had sent military instructors to drill the soldiers and to guard the palace, and an Adviser for your Finance Department. This action on the part of my Government plainly indicates Russia's intention of helping your country as a neighbor and her desire to strengthen your independence. But your Government did not seem to appreciate the importance of Russia's action at the time, and now your Government freely prevents Russia from accomplishing the advantages and beneficial results for your country which she intended. The present attitude of your Government is so plain that Russia cannot endure this condition much longer. Therefore my Emperor has graciously ordered me to report fully to your Emperor and inquire of your Government definitely whether Korea still desires to be benefited by Russia's help or not, and if the military instructors and Finance Adviser are not considered necessary by your Emperor and your Government, my Government will make some other necessary arrangements according to the circumstances, but your Government must maintain your independence in the future according to its ability. I am awaiting your reply and hope it will be received within twenty-four hours, and I further request Your Excellency to report to your Emperor that I desire to obtain an audience with him for the purpose of informing him of the instructions I have received from my Imperial Sovereign concerning this matter."

Five days later, M. de Speyer received a reply, and from it, to the amazement of everybody, invertebrate Korea appeared to have taken up a strong attitude. The despatch in question was long and rambling, but the pith of it is contained in the two following paragraphs:

"Through your Sovereign's kind motives and your Government's friendly disposition, our military and financial affairs have made much progress. Both the Adviser and instructors diligently and conscientiously discharged their duties, so that the Imperial Guard has been trained satisfactorily and the financial condition of the country placed on a systematic basis. These are all due to the unceasing efforts of your Government and we will never forget your magnanimous spirit.

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"Our Government has decided that we will continue to manage our affairs according to the methods which your officials have so kindly introduced, though we must place the controlling power of these departments in the hands of our own countrymen. We will not employ any foreign military instructors or advisers. This decision was arrived at by the unanimous wishes of the old statesmen, the present Government and the people at large; also through the enlightenment and independent spirit which your Government has so diligently inculcated among us. I am sure that your Imperial Sovereign and your Government will be glad to know that our people have become so progressive and enlightened as to desire to maintain their own sovereignty."

The reply of M. de Speyer to this was delightfully sarcastic toward the close. (To understand the opening sentences of his despatch, it must be premised that the Korean Foreign Minister had stated that the Emperor of Korea proposed to "send an envoy to your capital who will carry the personal messages of gratitude from our Emperor to your Sovereign.") The following is the Russian Minister's communication:

"Sir: I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 12th inst., in which communication you have intimated to me that your Government intends to send an ambassador to St. Petersburg. I have just been instructed by my Imperial Sovereign to inform you that the sending of the envoy is not at all necessary, and the Russian Government does not care to receive any message of thanks. Russia only desires to extend her friendliness; but she never cares to force it upon any one. Your Government asked us to send military instructors and a finance adviser and we complied. But now your Government considers that Russian officials are no longer needed, and you state that Korea can manage her own affairs without aid from Russia. Russia only congratulates Korea upon having made such progress in so short a time that she is able to maintain her independence unassisted by foreign instructors and advisers.

"I have already instructed our military officers and Finance Adviser to discontinue their duties in the Korean service.

March 17th, 1898. "A. DE SPEYER."

Doubtless, Japan's attitude toward the Russian interpretation of the Lobanov-Yamagata Convention, and the approaching agreement on the matter of the Nissi-Rosen Protocol, went a long way to account for this, at first, seemingly inexplicable development in Seoul. But other events of even more startling import were in progress elsewhere, and in all likelihood they had not a little to do with Russia's withdrawal from all open interference with Korean politics for the time being.

On October 18, 1897, it was telegraphed that the Russian fleet had entered Port Arthur with the intention of wintering there. And then, just about the date of signing of the Nissi-Rosen Con-

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vention (April 24, 1898), it became known in Japan that the rumors of a convention between Russia and China, in terms of which Port Arthur, Talien-wan and adjacent territory were to be "leased" to the former, were only too well founded, such a convention having been actually signed at Pekin on the preceding 27th of March—ten days after the withdrawal of the Russian officers and Financial Adviser from the service of Korea.

Of course, in Japan the ferment caused by this intelligence was intense. The capture of Port Arthur by Japanese troops in 1894 had amazed the world, and the Japanese looked upon that fortress as one of the proudest trophies of the war. At the peace negotiations their minds were resolutely bent upon retaining it. So, when Russia and her allies requested them to retrocede it with the whole Liautung Peninsula to China, the three Powers were asking of Japan a very great deal indeed. However, as the request preferred or the advice proffered (with a backing of forty-seven war vessels) was in the interests of the Peace of the Far East, Japan complied with it as gracefully as she could, and returned to her vanquished enemy the strongest fortress and the best dock-yard in the Far East. This was in April, 1895, and in 1898, within three years from that date, the legitimate booty won for Japan by the prowess of her soldiers had been appropriated by Russia, through the tortuous devices of her diplomats, and the phrase, the "Peace of the Far East," had proved to be nothing but a more extended and expansive fashion of spelling the name of the Muscovite! Naturally enough, there was a violent explosion of popular feeling in Japan. By the masses an immediate war with Russia would have been welcomed, while even some of the less cautious and far-seeing of her statesmen were in no mood to pause to count the ultimate cost of such a struggle. But in the midst of the ferment the ministers in power never for a moment lost their coolness and calmness. Japanese troops still held Wei-hai-wei, and, in terms of the Shimonoseki Treaty, were to hold it until the whole of the indemnity was paid. China had signified her intention of liquidating the whole of that in May. Many publicists and some of her statesmen argued that the Russion occupation of Port Arthur fully justified Japan in keeping her garrison in Wei-hai-wei, even after every cent of the indemnity had been received. But the Tokyo Cabinet did not take that view. Negotiations between Great Britain, China and Japan were set

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on foot; and in May the last $50,000,000 of the indemnity was handed over, the Japanese troops evacuated Wei-hai-wei, and, on July 1, by a convention between China and Great Britain, that port, together with the adjacent waters, was leased to the latter for so long a period as Russia shall retain Port Arthur.

Russia's negotiations at Pekin go a long way to explain the somewhat mysterious cessation of her activity in the Korean Peninsula in March, 1898. With the acquisition of Port Arthur as a naval base, there was no immediate need for her to push her interests aggressively in what Tokyo journals insist upon calling the Japanese sphere of influence. Although her diplomats in Seoul and Pekin ventured to carry things with a high hand—seemingly even to the verge of recklessness—yet the great Northern Power was far from eager for war. Her ends could be compassed by surer and less costly means than that. What she needed before all things was time to strengthen her naval and military position in the Far East. At that time it is doubtful whether she had as many as 75,000 troops in the whole of eastern Siberia, and a concentration of 60,000 of these would have been very difficult. Granted the command of the sea, Japan could have thrown double that number against Vladivostok. It is true that the struggle for the command of the sea would have been a more equal one, although it must be remembered that while Japan had ample docking facilities for the speedy repair of her ships damaged in action, Russia in that respect was seriously handicapped before her acquisition of Port Arthur. Once seated there, the task of most immediate importance to Russia was to make her position there an impregnable one. For the last two years, a great deal of energy has been devoted to this purpose. Much money has already been spent on the strengthening of the fortress, and in the naval budget for next year a further sum of $2,000,000 is to be expended on the fortifications of Port Arthur and Vladivostok. Into the former, stores and munitions have been pouring in a continuous stream; it is now strongly garrisoned; and the next assailant that ventures to attack the place will find it a good deal more than difficult to emulate the Japanese feat of November 21, 1894. In all likelihood Port Arthur is destined to become the most important of all the naval stations of Russia. The station on the Moorman coast in Lapland will never probably be of very much value, while in the Baltic and the Black Sea alike the Russian

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fleets are seriously shut in and hampered. From Port Arthur alone is there free and ready egress to the open ocean at all seasons of the year. This circumstance in itself makes it easy to understand why Russia proposes to add so greatly to the strength of her Pacific fleet. At present, *vis-à-vis* to Japan, that fleet is decidedly weak. Her three battleships would be no match for the "Fuji," the "Yashima" and the "Shikishima." The "Petropavlovsk," of 10,960 tons, and the "Navarin," of 10,200 tons, steam only sixteen knots against the eighteen or nineteen knots of the Japanese line-of-battle ships, while the "Lissoi Veliky," of 8,880 tons, is no faster. As regards first-class cruisers, the Japanese "Tokiwa" and "Asama" are fully a match for the "Rossia" and the "Rurik," and the "Azuma" and "Yakumo" (sister ships to the "Asama"), expected here by the end of June, will go a long way toward offsetting the much older, slower and smaller "Vladimir Monomakh," "Dmitri Donskoi," "Pamiat Azova" and "Admiral Nakhimoff." As regards second-class cruisers and smaller ships, the superiority of Japan is simply overwhelming, as indicated by the comparative total tonnages already given. But, if the report be true that Russia is to send several of the eight battleships and six first-class cruisers now in hand to the Far East, the disparity will cease to be on her side.

Russia is not waiting for the completion of her great railway to reduce her military inferiority in the East. In 1898 and the four preceding years, 58,000 troops were despatched to that quarter by the vessels of the volunteer fleet, while only 20,000 returned, and lately the rate of despatch has been greatly increased. At present, a trustworthy authority puts the number of Russian troops of all arms in eastern Siberia and Manchuria at nearly 110,000 men. In addition, there is a large immigration of settlers and of laborers for the construction of the railways in Manchuria. These are being pushed on vigorously; Port Arthur is already connected with Mukden, and altogether over 500 miles of track have been completed. It is only the heavy tunnelling through the Chingan and Klite Amon ranges that will defer the opening of the whole system till 1902. Thus, if all this be taken into account, it will readily appear that Russia, in temporarily effacing herself in Korea and so avoiding friction with Japan there, was the very reverse of ill-advised. Of late, however, signs of renewed activity in the Peninsula on her part have not been wanting alto-

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gether. Several of her subjects have applied for seemingly harmless concessions; and, in view of the opening of the new port of Masampo—one of the finest harbors in the world—a large extent of ground was purchased there by Russians, on behalf of the Russian Government, it is believed. Thereupon, some Japanese subjects quietly bought the foreshore of these lots, and, in spite of Russian representations to the Korean Government, these Japanese purchasers have got their title-deeds. There was a good deal of excitement over the incident, but a war over the Masampo foreshore question is not a very likely contingency. Another possible indication of renewed Russian activity in Korea is the appointment of M. Pavloff as representative at Seoul. It was M. Pavloff that negotiated the Port Arthur lease-convention, and it was he who carried things with such a high hand at Pekin in the matter of railway concessions. He is seemingly an able and a resolute man, strongly bent upon a vigorous forward policy. At the same time, there are rumors of an attempt on the part of Korea to obtain a loan of yen 5,000,000 or yen 7,000,000 from Russia on the pledge of her northern provinces, but these rumors may be like a good many others that we hear—unfounded.

One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the present Japanese Cabinet, while by no means eager for war, will not tamely submit to any infraction of the terms of the Nissi-Rosen Protocol. That document is Japan's charter for the peaceful, economic and industrial conquest of Korea which she evidently contemplates. The energy with which she has been pushing this purpose and the development of her commercial interests in the little Empire have of late been very remarkable, and stand forth in marked contrast to the apathy with which she has regarded most of the commercial advantages in China acquired by the Treaty of Shimonoseki. So long as she remains free to develop her legitimate interests in Korea, so long as the Nissi-Rosen Protocol is observed, Japan will be satisfied. The average Japanese is, indeed, very prone to be swayed by emotion, even by that spurious emotion called sentimentality. But hitherto the foreign policy of the nation has been conducted by the cold clear light of reason, and the statesmen at the head of affairs will not be likely to engage in armed strife without the amplest justification for so doing.

JAMES MURDOCH.

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THE POWERS AND THE PARTITION OF CHINA.

BY THE REV. GILBERT REID, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHINA, PEKING.

THE unusual attention given to Chinese affairs for two years past has been largely due to affairs in China which are foreign as well as Chinese. The scramble of European Powers has shifted from Constantinople to Peking, and into this scramble Japan and the United States have entered. The destiny of China seems to depend upon action taken in London, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Paris and Tokyo. The future of Europe and America, and the question of the new "balance of power," depends on action taken in Peking. After all, in an unexpected way, one-fourth of the human race as concentrated in China must be reckoned with in making the map of the world.

The attitude of the great Powers to China is only partially indicated through the voice of the people, the press and public debate, and has scarcely been enunciated through the Governments. China is thus in the dark as to what others want or intend to do, and we are all more or less puzzled in proportion to our degree of solicitude for her welfare.

For two years the writer, in a campaign for the International Institute of China, has been brought in contact with influential and thinking men in as many as ten countries, and especially with those most deeply interested in, or responsible for, the character of the relations which the West will hold with the Far East. Necessarily, it is in many cases impossible to give an authorized statement of acting ministers, but we can give impressions and our grounds for certain beliefs, which may help to explain the real situation.

I. GREAT BRITAIN.—Every British Government, until the present, has been in favor of maintaining the integrity of China.

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Parties have been agreed on this matter. So long as Great Britain was the predominant Power in China, this policy was unmodified. With the growing advance of other Powers, and especially with the increasing influence of Russia at the capital of China, the present Salisbury Government drifted into a policy of passivity. Instead of insisting on maintaining the integrity of China, it excused itself from that task, and insisted on maintaining British interests, whatever became of China. The strong position sustained in the speeches of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in the early part of 1898 for the "open door," was relinquished for the new theory of "spheres of interest," as enunciated by the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, and as illustrated by the agreement made with Russia concerning spheres of railway and mining concessions. All the time, however, the Government has declared that the open door is not closed, and plainly shows a desire to have China kept intact.

The "open door" policy, or that of "equality of opportunity," is, no doubt, the preference of the British people. The burdens of a world-wide empire drive out ambition for further territory and political responsibilities in China.

At the same time, there has been a strong, active, persistent agitation for "spheres of influence," or more particularly for a British sphere of influence in the Yang-tse Valley. Not merely statesmen of the Opposition, but men on the same side of the House with the Government, have advocated these ideas. Several times the defense of the "open door" has been left to members of the Cabinet. The claim has been that there is no longer an open door, that the Government has weakened, that British interests are imperilled, that British influence has declined, and that the only hope for Great Britain is to "ear-mark" the Yang-tse Valley. The undercurrent is suspicion of Russia and the conviction that Russia has already practically taken possession of Manchuria, while Germany holds sway in Shantung. Very few openly declare for the partition of China, but their arguments, if carried out, would drift that way. In any case, China's wishes or rights are utterly ignored. This agitation, and its support by the London press, has tended to weaken British reputation in China.

Lord Charles Beresford came back from his commercial investigations in China with two propositions for maintaining the open door—the one military, namely, drilling Chinese troops for the defense of the Yang-tse Valley; and the other political, namely, a

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combination of Great Britain, Germany, Japan and the United States, as antagonistic to Russia and France. Both of these propositions failed to secure the support of the British Government, and Lord Charles Beresford has, therefore, joined with the critics of the Government, and in doing so has drifted into the idea that the open door was closed, and that Great Britain should make sure of some special sphere, before all should be lost to her.

Nevertheless, the critics of the policy of the Government have latterly a slight impression that, if it is too late to argue for an "open door," it may also be too late to argue for a "sphere of influence." The agitation for a particular sphere has aroused other nations to make claims of their own. The result is such an intermingling of interests that division into separate spheres would be harder to effect than the maintenance of competition everywhere. For Great Britain to secure a sphere of her own would require one of three things. One way would be to secure it by agreement with China, but China would not, or could not, make such an agreement and retain even the semblance of sovereignty. Another way would be by agreement with other rival Powers; but, in attempting this, all that the British desire would not be granted, while other Powers would secure more in the way of recognized spheres than they now seem to aim at. A third way would be for Great Britain to consult neither China nor the other Powers, but to establish herself suddenly in the part that she seeks for her own; but this she cannot do without numerous complications with China and the Powers, and, furthermore, she has too much on her hands elsewhere to attempt such a colossal venture as an independent demarcation of her own sphere. Therefore, as the British already have interests outside the Yang-tse Valley, and other Powers have interests within the Yang-tse Valley, there comes the chance to China to be left unmolested.

II. Russia.—The suspicion that the British hold toward the Russians with reference to China is about equalled by Russian suspicion of Great Britain. British suspicion arises from an ignorance of what the Russians really think or intend to do. Russian suspicion arises from the open declarations and threatening propositions of the British public and its free press.

Nine out of ten persons in the United Kingdom believe that Russia wants to take possession of the whole of China, or at least of Peking and all North China. Our personal conviction to the

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contrary has always been received with surprise as a strange hallucination. The ground for this conviction can be briefly stated.

Russia is more of an Oriental nation than any other European Power. There is much in common between Russia and China. They are both conservative and autocratic in government. The proximity of territory and partial homogeneity of race would naturally lead these two nations to sympathize with each other, especially if others sought to intrude. Russia, as the stronger of the two, might have an ambition to dominate her neighbor, as she has dominated vast tracts and different tribes in northern Asia; but the international relations of both Russia and China forbid this. Russia knows that if she advances into China, other Powers will do the same. The subjection of the whole of China to Russia is a very different thing to the complex partition of China. The former is impossible; the latter to Russian eyes is undesirable. In Asia, Russia prefers a peaceful neighbor like China to her two European rivals, Germany and Great Britain—both intensely military and much wealthier than herself. The Slavic sympathies are more with the Mongolian than with the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon, in anything that pertains to China.

There are those who praise highly the foresightedness of Russian diplomacy. It is a common idea that Russia forms a definite plan, and works for its execution, slowly but with determination, through years, and even into centuries. My own impression is quite different. The Russians are not long-headed either in commerce or diplomacy. They rather have a supreme belief in Providence as a destiny leading their race and their Czar to ever-expanding spheres of domination. They design nothing, for Providence is leading them on.

An essential factor in the political attitude of Russia is the Czar. He has already given proof of his peaceful intents, not only in world-wide problems, but specifically in China. He has announced to the world that Talien-wan is open to the trade of all nations, but few Englishmen and Americans have given even meagre praise to his published declaration and peaceful policy.

There is a small faction in Russia, led by Prince Ookhtomsky, which is positively friendly to China. In frequent conversations with this gentlemen, we were struck with his intense and intelligent interest in the welfare of China. His paper, the *Viedomosti*, is noted both for its antagonism to the British and its defense of

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the Chinese. After hearing our plan for an International Institute at Peking, he had three editorials prepared in its advocacy, one being entitled in English "A Helping Hand to China."

The opponents of Russia generally close the door of discussion by the statement, "Russia has already taken possession of Manchuria." Facts, however, do not support this charge. Manchuria is still under Manchu rule, and the people pay taxes to China, not to Russia. There is even less interference in internal affairs than China complains of in other parts of China from other countries. Nothing has been done to frustrate the work of either Protestant or Catholic missionaries. The port of Newchwang is still an open port, and it is yet to be proved that foreign trade in Manchuria has been hampered by Russia. Russia, quite sensibly, has wanted an ice-free port, and the opportunity to improve the industrial development of her own extensive domain. She now seeks to become something of a commercial nation, and to extend commercial relations with the United States on the one side and with England on the other. She also aspires to predominant influence in Chinese affairs, as other nations do, and the time will come, perhaps, when education and missions, as well as commerce and diplomacy, will form a part of Russian enterprise.

All this is other than the scheme to dismember China. And yet the dismemberment of China is very much "in the air." Russia, therefore, is preparing and strengthening her position. Let any other nation seize a portion of Chinese territory, then Russia will at once seize Manchuria and Mongolia to march on to Peking. Russia, even more than many Englishmen, would prefer to have China held together.

III. FRANCE.—For many years France and Great Britain were joined in the effort to open up China. Latterly, France and Russia have been joined, and this last alliance has aroused the suspicion of the British. The chief influence of France in China has been missionary rather than commercial, and this fact tends to restrain any personal desires for Chinese dismemberment. From the beginning of treaty relations with China, all Catholic missions have been regarded as under the French protectorate. The only exception has been the case of Germany during the last decade. The special favor accorded to France has been increased within the last year by China's recognition of the official status of Catholic missionaries and the right of the French Minister at Peking to inter-

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fere and protect. This, therefore, gives scope for French influence in every province of China, and also in Mongolia and Manchuria. France knows very well that, if China were to be dismembered, her influence in the missionary line would be curtailed. She, therefore, prefers to keep China intact and have influence everywhere in China.

In even the commercial line France does not care to be limited to a few provinces along the Tonquin border. She has a French "settlement" in Shanghai and Tientsin, and a "concession" in Hankow. She is the largest investor in the railroad to be built between Hankow and Peking. She has also great political influence at Peking. To divide China would not serve the interests of France.

IV. GERMANY.—The other leading European Power concerned in the future of China is Germany. The occasion for the rise of German influence in China was the massacre of two German Catholic missionaries in the Province of Shantung. One-third of that province is a German diocese. The protection of the Catholic mission within that section was transferred from France to Germany ten years ago. In addition, Germany has influence in a commercial way by securing as an outcome of the missionary difficulties the port of Kiao-chow, and certain railroad and mining concessions throughout the province. This is the German "sphere of interest," which may lead to actual possession. Such a result would not, however, be for the best interests of Germany. Germany has Protestant missions in the south where France would rule if China were to be dismembered. German merchants are also given wide scope for trade at all the treaty ports and through the natives far into the interior. A few high-handed officers or irresponsible adventurers may boast of making Shantung a German possession, but the German Government and German merchants would fare better by being friendly and true to China and by exerting influence over the whole of China. The danger to be faced is from the massacre of more Germans, which would cause Germany to ignore Chinese rule and proceed to rule for herself. In fact, I regard this as the greatest danger to the preservation of China. The Chinese in Shantung are turbulent, and, through the aggressiveness of the Germans, most hostile to foreigners, and especially to the Germans.

V. THE UNITED STATES.—Different from the influence of the

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European Powers in China is that of the United States. While the equal of any of the Powers, this advancing Republic, the predominant Power on the American continent, has maintained from the year 1842 a friendly attitude to China. Even with the cry for expansion and her presence in Asiatic waters, she has displayed no inclination to participate in the dismemberment of China. Certain Americans are inclined to unite with the British in some definite China policy, while others look with favor on closer relations with Russia, but the National Government, in so far as it has a policy, puts forth no positive action either to divide China or maintain her integrity, but seeks to protect American interests as guaranteed by treaties. Naturally, this policy, like that of the British Government, is more allied to an "open door," with equality of opportunity, but there is no readiness to resist the aggressions of other Powers, so long as American trade is not hampered nor American citizens molested. It is, therefore, possible for the United States to maintain equally friendly relations with China, with Great Britain, with Russia, or any other Power, if nothing is done to eliminate China as a treaty-making Power, or to make sections of China partial to some one country in rights, privileges and opportunities. If China is not to be dismembered, there is no need for the United States to interfere, but if dismemberment is to be undertaken, the very existence of extensive American interests, commercial and missionary, and the fact that for over half a century the United States has had in Eastern Asia diplomatic relations equally with others, will require that the United States be not only consulted, but given an equal share in the distribution of new opportunities.

The average American has less respect for the Chinese as a race than have most of the European peoples. This is probably owing to the greater acquaintance on the part of Americans with Chinese laborers than with the better class Chinese, and to American legislation on the Chinese question. We hear much of the obligation of the Chinese to observe the treaties, but very little of American obligation in relation to China. In consequence there is striking unconcern as to the welfare of the Chinese or the permanence of the Chinese Empire. Very few realize the danger to American interests of allowing the dismemberment of China. The downfall of the Chinese Government is thought of as something similar to the displacement of Indian rule by British

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domination, whereas China would be parcelled out among different nations, and would not be like one people under one foreign rule.

Any change of American sentiment in the direction of recognizing the importance of keeping China intact has been largely brought about by an increased conviction that, legitimately, the United States must enter into movements that affect the world, and more particularly by the ambition to expand American trade throughout the whole of China. The sense of fair play, furthermore, is shocked by such a colossal programme as that of trying to divide a great and ancient Empire among outside nations, mutually jealous and relying for supremacy on skill in warfare.

VI. JAPAN.—In any question that concerns China, Japan must have a part. As Japan is the neighbor of China, this is to be expected, and as she is the recognized equal of Christian nations, this is her right. To prevent the further aggressions of Europe, and especially of Russia, all the people of Japan may be said to be in favor of defending China and strengthening her independence. The end of China might be the beginning of the downfall of Japan. As Oriental nations, they stand or fall together. The question of the "open door" was hardly thought of when Japan vanquished China on sea and land, but when Russia, France and Germany proceeded to interfere in the result, and later on to make demands for privileges for themselves, which China could not resist, then Japan reversed her course and sided with China. An alliance, formal or informal, is inevitable.

Thus, through mutual jealousies of the nations, China may be held together. All seek their own interests first, from what some would term patriotic motives, and yet this very self-interest is dependent on the preservation of China. A scramble for conquest, possessions, sovereignty, in China would endanger the peace of the whole world. Even a struggle for established spheres of influence, with Chinese authority weakened more and more, would not only be treacherous to China but provoke such discord, animosities, riots and resentments as to make the loss and trouble of the participants greater than the gain and honor. Each nation, while anxious for more influence, is opposed to the increased influence of any other nation. The whole territory of China presents so many opportunities for foreign enterprise that all prefer competition to exclusiveness and dismemberment.

GILBERT REID.

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THE AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.

WHEN Mr. Choate wrote to Lord Salisbury to ask British concurrence in a proposed line of policy in China, he stated that:

> "The President has strong reason to believe that the Governments of both Russia and Germany will co-operate in such an understanding as is here proposed."

It is not quite clear what that understanding was. The passage of the despatch which immediately preceded that which I have quoted began with a most important statement as to American policy in China. This was followed by an expression of a desire for support in the effort to obtain, from each of the Powers claiming spheres of influence, a declaration in favor of an international policy of the "open door," as contrasted with a selfish policy of preference for "nationals"—that is, subjects or citizens. At the moment of writing, I have not seen the actual text of the Russian and German replies. I hear from those who have read them that the German answer is satisfactory but general, and the Russian guarded and far from clear. What I do not know is how far any of the Powers have responded to what appears to me to be the gist of the American despatch, instead of confining their reply to the proposed declaration as to the "open door."

A more pregnant but less obvious portion of the American policy revealed in the despatches which began to be written in September, lies in the expressed hesitation of the Government of the United States to "recognize" "the exclusive rights" of any Power within any part of the Chinese Empire, and its acceptance, as the policy ultimately in view and now to be "hastened," of "united action of the Powers at Peking to promote administrative reforms, so greatly needed for strengthening the Imperial Gov-

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ernment and maintaining the integrity of China in which it" ("my Government") "believes the whole Western world is alike concerned."

This is a far more important pronouncement than anything which merely concerns the "open door." It has attracted less attention than the proposed declarations of disinterestedness. It is not, however, novel as an expression of policy by distinguished Americans, though it has never previously been so frankly adopted as a national policy by the President and Secretary of State and Ambassadors of the Republic. In 1867 the same policy was proclaimed by an American, Mr. Anson Burlingame, at one time a Senator, at another time American Minister in China, and ultimately first Chinese Ambassador to Europe, who came to us with a legation composed of representatives of all the Powers, serving with the consent of their various countries. Mr. Burlingame's policy was exactly that now adopted on behalf of the United States. It was preached by him with the leave of the United States Government, which at one time he represented, and whose service he left for that of China, in which he shortly died. The policy was a wise one when taught by Mr. Burlingame in London in 1868; it was premature. The question that must now be asked with regard to it is not whether it is wise, for we shall agree upon that score, but whether the United States "mean business" about it, and are prepared to push it with their great influence—an influence to which the reception of their despatches testifies, if indeed testimony were needed.

It ought to be a portion of the policy, if that policy be seriously intended, that the United States should be strongly represented in China. At Pekin there must be a Minister of high authority who will take the lead in pressing the enlightened and trading views of our Governments and of the Powers who will concur with them, and, on the Coast, a Commodore who will use the naval power of the United States, in conjunction with the British Admiral on the station, in suppressing piracy and lawlessness on the West River, the Yang-tse and other inland waters where British trade and the trade of the United States are, and in an increasing degree will be, done. The United States are now showing their power, as a manufacturing and exporting nation, to hold their own in markets far more distant from their shores than those of China. Rivals we must be in trade; but we have, both of us,

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everything to gain by making ours a friendly rivalry, and by co-operating in maintaining order throughout China, and in asking, as a return, for the regularization of inland duties and for the extension of the Imperial Customs system to financial matters which are at present outside its control.

We must recognize the fact that, although other countries may yield to the views put forward by the United States and supported by ourselves, they are not friendly to them. There was a most interesting debate in the French Chamber on the 27th of March, in which several of the leading speakers discussed the colonial policy of France and Germany, making as it were common cause with Germany in the matter, and explaining that it is a policy which is intended to enable Europe to face the future development of the United States. The speakers pointed out (to use the words of M. Raiberti, the Radical Deputy of Nice) that England has under her sceptre a world; that Russia has absorbed all northern Asia; that, in face of what the British and Russian Powers and the United States already are, France and Germany are forced to establish themselves outside Europe, and "to be extra-European if they are to live."

> "The old nations of Europe feel that its worn-out frame has no longer the strength to carry their future. They cross the frontiers of Europe and go to new continents to search for life. The European Powers with limited population and territory are threatened with extinction or with lapse into the position of States of the second order, when considered in comparison with such extraordinary agglomerations as the United States, if they do not themselves constitute outside of Europe their empires of the future. The only means to create an equilibrium with the United States and with Greater Britain is to create a Greater France and a Greater Germany."

We in the United Kingdom do not seek to be alone or to be first in China as a whole, or even in the Yang-tse Valley. Some English speakers have, for party reasons, asserted that we have obtained a separate and individual control of the Yang-tse Valley, which in fact has not been granted to us, and which the majority of our statesmen and of our people do not desire. What they wish is that the vast population of that region, doing already a large trade with foreign countries, and likely to do a rapidly increasing trade with them in the future, shall be accessible to the enterprise of the world. We know that we shall have in that territory the growing competition of the United States and that

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of Germany, possibly also that of Japan, but we are content to take our chance, and are content also to let America, if she chooses, take the lead, or act equally with us, in insisting that the future of these territories shall not be marred by piracy, brigandage and rapacious inland taxation. The aims of Russia in the north, of Germany in one Chinese province at least, and of France in the south, are different; but the action of the United States, which has virtually arrested for the moment the selfish action on the part of France and Germany, will, if continued, be strong enough, in conjunction with our own, to check for good the process of disintegration and of division which had commenced.

Let no American hater of militarism fear that this language points to alliance in view of war. The Government of the United States is not asked by the British Government to pull chestnuts out of the fire for us, or to offend Russian customers for our benefit. The impulse on this occasion has come from Washington, and our Foreign Office, though unable to resist the national feeling here, is not enthusiastic about the American new departure which our people welcome. In the debate of the 9th of June last, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs declared that the United States were hostile to a policy of concert of the Powers at Pekin in favor of reform. We have advanced since that day, for the policy which Mr. Broderick told us was repudiated is now avowed as the aim of the Republic. Resolutely keep the lead in the policy of reform; give an earnest of your desire for co-operation by offering to assist in the complete opening of the rivers to the trade of the world, and rest assured that, with less risk to peace than a policy of abstention involves, American action will be crowned with a full measure of success.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

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WHY ENGLAND SHOULD STOP THE WAR.

BY JEAN DE BLOCH.

On what reasonable grounds can England be asked to stop the war, now that its tide has turned in her favor? Would it be wise, or even moral, to leave open a question which might probably cause bloodshed again, and which can now be settled satisfactorily once for all? The present conflict was not of England's seeking. It took her statesmen and generals completely by surprise; and, for several months after the first shot was fired, she sustained a series of checks so serious that many mistook them for disaster. To retire now from the struggle before paralyzing the forces which would fain renew it, would be at once to act contrary to the instinct of self-preservation and to violate the fundamental principles of ethics. Thousands of England's bravest sons have lost their lives on the parched battle-fields of South Africa; scores of thousands have undergone privations and sufferings of a heart-harrowing character; and, while holocausts were being offered up to Moloch, nearly all Europe looked on with positive delight, piously descrying the finger of a no longer inscrutable Providence in this condign chastisement of "selfish Albion." Now, however, that the Boers are losing ground, England is asked to sheathe her sword and submit the future of her African Empire to the judgment of those very people who gloried in her fancied downfall. The idea is grotesque. But even were it only altruistic, why should England be called upon to take a step which is hurtful to her vital interests—to make a sacrifice from which every other Power would most certainly recoil?

Those are the principal pleas for prosecuting the war to the bitter end which are urged by the Imperialist party in Great Britain; and their arguments are, I frankly admit, capable of being very effectively put. Indeed, so much may be truly and

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tellingly said in favor of that view, that I should never dream of entering the lists to uphold the opposite one, were it not that I am so keenly conscious of the vast possibilities of the ethical side of the Anglo-Saxon character, from which have been drawn those wonder-working forces that alone could have built up the greatest Empire of history, the most perfect political fabric known to time and space. And it is to the ethical sentiment, so profound and so widespread among English-speaking peoples, that I chiefly appeal. For therein lies the strength of the race. England's best and most thriving colonies are held together and linked to the mother-country by purely moral ties, not by an army and a fleet. Canada could have seceded yesterday; Australia can separate to-morrow; yet they are to the full as loyal as the men of Kent or Northumberland. What other State has ever held colonies on this tenure? And is it wise to make a new departure and to conquer future colonists with heavy artillery and quick-firing rifles?

Even in matters of foreign policy, England stands on a higher level than any other great world Power, and for this reason much more is expected of her.

The heroic example of an appeal to arbitration under a set of conditions peculiarly galling to national self-love, and of dignified compliance with the terms of an award the details of which appeared to lend themselves to criticism, was first given by Great Britain. The occasion was the tension caused between that country and the United States of America, after the War of Secession, by the "Alabama" question. In that dispute England was assuredly in the wrong, as nations are from time to time. But she frankly owned it, which is more than any other State has ever yet done; and she consented to atone for the harm she had inflicted, which is a still more difficult feat. By this act, she informally inaugurated a system for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, which contains within it the promise of the only millennium attainable by the human race. None of the many and marvellous mechanical inventions which mark the progress of the nineteenth century will prove such a boon to civilization as this self-humiliation of an entire people in the higher interests of the whole world.

Another and much more arduous feat of political morality accomplished by Great Britain was the conclusion of peace with the Boers after the signal victory gained by the latter at Majuba

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Hill. Nothing like it is known to history, nor can the heroism underlying the act be easily exaggerated. The English forces had been cut to pieces. The Boers were triumphant and hopeful. Great Britain was ready to wash out the "blot on her 'scutcheon" in the blood of the Boers. Reinforcements were on their way to the Cape. A chance presented itself of treading out the embers of hostility which might once more burst into flame. In a word, every consideration of "honor" and self-interest seemed to call for the carrying on of the war. But the English people, choosing the better part, made peace with the enemy and transformed the struggle into an honorable competition in the domain of civilization. Magnanimity of this kind in foreign politics is seldom gauged aright and is never appreciated; if displayed in war, it is absolutely certain to be misunderstood. The magnanimity which refuses to change defeat into victory must of necessity be mistaken for weakness; and weakness, even when only fancied, is always a political danger and sometimes a material loss. Yet England could afford to neglect all such considerations of worldly wisdom, and she did so after Majuba Hill. This event constitutes the high-water mark of political morality.

But all British civilization tends in the same direction. There may be—nay, there must be—back eddies; the present war movement is one of them; but none the less the main current of British civilization is set steadily toward peace. The admirable attitude of Lord Pauncefote at The Hague Conference is a convincing proof of this. No other Power was more thoroughly in earnest in this matter of turning swords into ploughshares than those of the English tongue; none was willing to go further than England and the United States in the direction of arbitration. The English-speaking peoples, looking all the consequences fully in the face, declared their readiness to do the right thing, come what might; and if the work of the Conference proved ultimately less complete than it might have been, the fault certainly is not theirs. Nor are these conclusions weakened by the present war. It was neither sought for nor foreseen by the British Government; and if the latter circumstance bespeaks a lack of foresight, the former is a proof of good intentions. Belief in the possibility of a pacific settlement prevailed to the last. When the negotiations grew stagnant, some British troops were despatched to the Cape for the purpose of showing the Boers that England was in

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earnest, and with the hope of expediting an agreement. The Boers, however, taking time by the forelock, declared war.

And that is by no means all that impartial spectators find to say in explanation of a war which they refuse to justify. When hostilities broke out, few people in or out of England believed very firmly in the wisdom of submitting the issues between the two States to arbitration. England's relations to the Transvaal Republic (with the Orange Free State she had had no quarrel) were from an international point of view extremely vague. The lay mind set them down as those of a suzerain to a protected Power; the trained legal intellect polished away the differences or sharpened the distinctions, but none attempted to reason away the broad, governing fact that Great Britain was invested with a right to veto all treaties made by the Transvaal Government with foreign States. And this circumstance was generally held to place the Boer Republic in a position toward Great Britain which excluded arbitration as effectually as it would have been eliminated had a dispute arisen between France and Madagascar.

Moreover, even had it been otherwise—and later on the matter did appear in a very different light—The Hague Conference could not be confidently appealed to, because the resolutions passed by that assembly had not yet been formally ratified by Great Britain. And thus for a time hostilities between the two peoples assumed the form, not of a war *en règle,* but of a rising in rebellion of quasi-subjects. Color was imparted to this view on the one hand by a certain much-discussed passage in the Speech from the Throne of Her Majesty the Queen, and on the other by the length of time allowed to elapse before the British Government officially notified to the other Powers the fact that war had been declared, and thus implicitly admitted that the Boers were on a footing of complete equality as belligerents. This recognition ruined the legal argument against arbitration. And the ratification of the resolutions of The Hague Conference which has followed since then, has destroyed the plea of inopportunity. Now, therefore, the time has come to appeal to the people of England to advance one step further in the direction of political morality. It is an interesting fact that the material interests of a people run parallel with the lines of its moral obligations; but it very seldom happens that the connection between the two is quite so visible as in the present case. England cannot compass her aims

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by means of arms. War was always a clumsy, expensive and cruel means of trying issues between States and peoples. But heretofore it has been, at least generally, an efficient means of cutting, if not undoing, many a Gordian knot. At present, it has ceased to be even this, and it has become merely the embodiment of cruelty of the worst kind—a cruelty which is bereft of such redeeming features as finality could impart. The result of wars can no longer be decisive, because the defense, however numerically weak, will enjoy such an initial advantage over the attack as to be practically equal to it. Therefore, the belligerents can bleed each other *à blanc,* to the very verge of complete collapse, but neither will be able to crush the other and itself escape without vital hurt. This fact, and I venture to think that I have proved it to be the main fact in all future wars, causes the line of England's moral duty visibly to coincide with that of her material interests. I say nothing now of the future necessity of the two races living side by side in South Africa on the principle of "give and take." I pass over in silence the powerful argument against the war which the comparative statistics of births and deaths in the Transvaal supply, whence it appears that the future is to the more prolific race of the Boers. I rely solely on the fact that, weak as the Boers are numerically, they are enabled by the most modern weapons to hold their own while defending their country against invasion, and they will do so with such results as to render the entire upshot of the war utterly indecisive. If that be true, do not the material interests of England, no less than the ethical mission which Great Britain is accomplishing in the world, point to the necessity of sheathing the sword?

From the point of view of traditional politics, the present moment seems, I am well aware, extremely inopportune for an appeal to the people of England to forego the vast advantages which seem to await their army in South Africa, and to turn their thoughts peaceward. But it only seems inopportune. The surrender of General Cronje was undoubtedly a most important triumph in itself, and it also contained the promise of the very best throughout the war that British strategy can effect. But the very best that strategy, British or foreign, can accomplish in guerilla warfare is relatively very little indeed, and it was attained when the British forces entered Bloemfontein. That success was the high-water mark of the spring tide. But from the moment

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the invasion of the Transvaal proper begins, and European troops venture into the heart of the South African Switzerland, every hill and hollow of which may be transformed into an impregnable fortress, the fortune of war will necessarily change once more, and the gloomy outlook of last December and January will dash high hopes and evoke dread fears anew. This is not prophecy but logic; not clairvoyance but insight. Smokeless powder, quick-firing rifles and artillery, and the scientific construction of entrenchments can be utilized by a clever people to such purpose that a determined force of defenders may successfully hold its own against an invading army eight times larger than itself.

But in the Transvaal the conditions will be exceptionally favorable to the Boers and correspondingly adverse to the British, who will forfeit even such advantages as superior artillery, tactical training and iron discipline have heretofore conferred upon them. The country is barren, and supplies must therefore be drawn from the distant base, with which a very long line of communications must be continuously kept open. The land is further rugged, hilly, abounding in narrow passes like those of Spain, Caucasus, Bosnia, the Island of Crete, which were for a long time successfully defended against armies of many thousands, most of whom now lie buried in the soil they invaded. Even if the Boers lacked the inborn shrewdness which characterizes all their military and political movements, necessity alone would compel them to break up their forces into a number of little bands, whose aim and object it would be to harass the British rear, cut off supplies and above all seriously damage the railway line or lines on which the invading army must mainly rely. Now, these objects would not be difficult of accomplishment. It needs so little in these days of destructive explosives to blow up a bridge, a station, a tunnel, and to cause an obstruction in a few minutes which cannot be repaired in less than a month! And there will be but one available railway line from base to front, so that if that can be rendered impassable, the termination of the war will have been put off indefinitely and time will have been enlisted on the side of the defenders, and time exposes England to the danger of foreign complications.

I wish it to be clearly understood that I do not for a moment suppose that the Boers will dispute every mile of territory. On the contrary, they will imitate the Russians in 1812 and retire before the invader for a time. But, as their guerilla warfare is

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scientific, they will do what the Russians never did, and they will do it under favorable conditions which the subjects of Alexander I. never enjoyed. Besides the constant attacks on the rear and the frequent attempts to cut the long line of communications, which will force the British troops to split up into small parties, the Boers will judiciously choose a small number of positions on the line of the British advance, which, strong by nature, may be rendered impregnable by art. These they will fortify with all the elaborate efficiency guaranteed by modern military science. In the neighborhood they will store up the needful supplies of provisions and ammunition, and then they will calmly await the arrival of the enemy. If the Boers pitch upon one or two such strong positions in the fastnesses of the Transvaal at places which the enemy cannot possibly turn, the problem of successful defense is solved. No mere advantage in numbers such as Great Britain could secure would equalize the chances of the belligerents, and the invading army, or as much of it as survived, would find itself in a no-thoroughfare.

To many readers this forecast will seem too darkly colored to represent the probabilities of the case with fidelity. But the ordinary civilian who has never given his attention to military matters is necessarily incapable of gauging accurately the radical revolution effected in warfare by the improved weapons of to-day, and him I can only refer to my work on "The Future of War," in which all the problems of warfare in their contemporary forms are clearly formulated and exhaustively discussed. Among specialists, too, who have a right to be listened to with respect, there are some who think that my sketch of the difficulties in the way of the British army in South Africa is overdrawn. My reply to them is as follows: The *data* on which I base my judgment are facts admitted by all military experts. They are the only constant, unchanging factors of the problem, wherefore I take them, and them only, into account. In concrete warfare there are, I admit, other factors, which can never be foreseen beforehand because they are mainly accidental. These one can never allow for. Thus it is always possible that political considerations may cause a military plan of campaign to be modified or even seriously changed to the disadvantage of the belligerent altering it. This happened at the very beginning of the war, when General Buller planned the relief of Ladysmith instead of invading the Orange

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Free State, and it may happen on the other side if the Boers shape their defense less in harmony with military needs and advantages than in conformity with the desire of their allies, the Orange Staters, whose motives may be wholly political. Any one of these new factors may render the most careful calculations meaningless, just as a magnetic storm may make the most accurate chronometer untrustworthy. But, in both cases, the disturbance is of a merely transitory nature, and the theory remains unaffected. It is absolutely true that the Boers can render the invasion of their country abortive.

But, over and above considerations of a material order, there are moral duties and obligations which the British race cannot afford to shirk. The vast British Empire may be aptly described as a political fabric cemented by morality, instead of being held together by the fear of fire and sword. And this marvellous creation can be maintained in the present only by the means by which it was built up in the past. The white races under the sway of the Queen are all free. If they are subjects of Her Majesty, instead of being citizens of the United States or members of a republic of their own, the reason is that this is their own will. The element of force, of coercion, is wholly absent. Is it wise, at the outset of the twentieth century, to return to the specious maxims which wrought such dire disaster when George the Third was King? I am well aware that there is another way of putting the case, and that this other formula is much more flattering to the self-love of the English people, whose enthusiasm can always be evoked by the assurance that they are fighting for equal rights. But I prefer to pay them the compliment of frank speech and undiluted truth; and I again ask, Is it wise, even politically, to drive unwilling subjects into the political penfold at the point of the sword and to create an Ireland in South Africa?

Could anything half so calamitous occur, if England, referring the issues at stake to a Court of Arbitration, were to undertake to abide by its award? Most assuredly not—not even on the supposition that the *status quo ante* were proclaimed. For even then these two propositions would be absolutely true. In South Africa, as in every other part of the globe, the higher of two competing types of civilization must inevitably oust or absorb the lower, and in this case the pastoral phasis, represented by the Boers, would necessarily and speedily disappear before the industrial imported

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by the British. The second certainty is that in South Africa the hegemony will ultimately belong to that one of the two races which proves the most prolific. And this race is the Dutch. Whether the Transvaal be conquered or peace be concluded on the *status quo ante,* those two unalterable facts will have to be reckoned with, and one of these tells in favor of the British, while the other weighs on the side of the Boers.

Nor should we forget the moral effect, as widespread as it would be intense, which the peaceful solution of the struggle, even at this stage, would produce upon the world at large and the Boers in particular. It would be the death knell of Chauvinism throughout the globe and of many of the worst social evils engendered by Chauvinism and its allies—militarism, the "rage of numbers" and the lavishing of labor and money on unproductive undertakings, which, in times of peace as in times of war, constitute the most effectual barriers ever yet raised against the advance of civilization. England would command and receive the moral support of all true friends of peace and civilization throughout the world, which, little though it may seem from a material point of view, is one of those national *imponderabilia* which no people can afford to make light of. The two races could then live in peace and friendship side by side, and the Anglo-Saxon element might fully rely upon the most favorable conditions for deploying those splendid advantages in the peaceful competition for supremacy which a higher civilization, broader humanitarian views and a secular political education have bestowed.

In conclusion I would venture to direct public attention to the beneficent results which the downfall of militarism, thus inaugurated by Great Britain, would unquestionably produce in the social order of things. The nineteenth century has accomplished as much for the well-being of the masses as science effected for the mere mechanism of human comfort. It has brought forth societies for the care of the blind, for the treatment of incurables, the succor of the poor and the sick, the relief of indigent old age, the education of the young and innocent, the improvement of the depraved, the housing and healing of the insane, the curing of the habitual drunkard, the defense of the poor and the helpless—in a word, there is no domain of life in which public and private enterprise has not set itself to work with excellent effect. The result is the gradual levelling upward of the masses. But what

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has heretofore been accomplished in this respect is but a raindrop to the ocean, when compared with what still remains to be done by the civilizing influences now at work.

But all those beneficent influences are paralyzed by want of the funds necessary to carry on the good work. And the funds are lacking because of the untold sums of money absorbed every year by militarism, which, like some mythical monster, lives and thrives on the life-blood of the masses. Now I ask, Is it really better to spend these millions of millions upon expedients for the speedy massacre *en masse* of men who only want to live and work for themselves and their families, than to invest them in humanizing the wild beasts of the social penfold, in relieving human sufferings and making mankind more amenable to the subtle influences of morality and art? Socialistic reformers who desire to see the taxes used in thus benefiting the entire community have been frequently scoffed at as Utopians. But which is the more fantastic scheme of the two—the spending of the money for the improvement of the masses, or its investment in the purchase of arms and ammunition for annihilating them?

Questions like these cannot be long hidden from the common people, nor until they have been rightly solved can socialistic agitation of a disquieting character be entirely suppressed. If such agitation is less to be feared in England than elsewhere, it is because heretofore England has adopted a line of action opposed to militarism and free from most of its characteristic evils. To continue the war will be to retrace her steps and follow in the wake of the military Powers of the Continent. And the attempt to maintain a great land army and the most powerful fleet in the world will bring forth curious effects not dreamt of in the philosophy of Jingoism.

Look at the question from any and every point of view, the conclusion is forced upon the unbiased outsider that England has everything to gain and nothing to lose by silencing the war trumpets and submitting the dispute to arbitration. Material interests, political prestige and moral obligations all point to one and the same line of action.

JEAN DE BLOCH.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE NEGRO RACE.

BY SIR HENRY M. STANLEY.

THE indefinite extension of time which we must allow to cover the numberless migrations of families, tribes and sub-tribes from Asia to Africa, the natural overlapping of one by the other which must necessarily have occurred, and the consequent mixture of types from this and countless other causes, make it impossible to unravel the tangle of humanity that was formed in Egypt, the threshold of the Dark Continent, in the earliest ages.

Discoveries have lately been made in Egypt by Flinders Petrie, De Morgan and Amelineau, and in South Africa near the Buffalo River by Dr. Hillier, which go to prove that, though the old Egyptian kingdom may have been founded between six and seven thousand years ago, this lapse of time is but insignificant compared to that between to-day and that far-reaching date in the neolithic age when the first human family entered Egypt.

Before stating my theory as to the origin of the negro race, I should like to lead the reader in a general way from that period just preceding the legendary and historic period down to the present condition of negro types found in Africa. At the outset I frankly confess my agreement with those *savants* who give an Asiatic origin to man, because, first of all, the very earliest records, monumental or written, prove the influence of Asia on Africa, while there seems to be nothing to exhibit African influence on Asia. On the sculptures of Egyptian monuments, on the face of the Sphynx, in the features of the most ancient mummies, and in those of Egyptian wooden and stone statues, I see the Afro-Asiatic type as clearly as I see it in the faces of the fellaheen and nobles of the present day.

Down to the fifth century before Christ, Egypt was commonly believed to belong to Asia; but though since that period she has

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been admitted to belong to Africa, because of her river and the land formed by it, moderns as well as the ancients have persisted in acting on the supposition that she is Asiatic. Before the later Asiatics crowded into Egypt, there was, no doubt, an earlier race which we distinguish by the term African, because we find comparatively little of that type in other continents; but it is clear that, whatever proportion of it sought refuge in the interior of Africa, enough individuals were left to make an indelible impression on the newcomers, and form a separate race, which on account of its peculiar character came to be known as Egyptian. From the time when this new race founded the kingdom, formulated its severe religion, and distinguished itself by its aloofness from other peoples, there appears to have been a perpetual struggle as to whether Asiatic or African blood should predominate; and ancient writers were as much puzzled as moderns are as to what continent the old Egyptian race was originally derived from.

Leaving the primitive African out for the present, let me say that we must go back to pre-Aryan times to find the ancestry of those early Asiatics who, entering Egypt, originated the peculiar Egyptian race. These people are commonly called Turanians, and they have been variously described as "dusky, dark, black, black-skinned, and their hair as varying from coarse, straight, black hair," to "curly," "crinkly" and "woolly." The centre of this race appears to have been in the neighborhood of Accad, where, it has been found, a King Sargon reigned about 3800, B. C.

Sixteen hundred miles to the northeast there was developed in process of time a different race altogether, of light complexion, with blue or gray eyes, and "blood brown" and light hair. It was called "Arya," which means the noble or ruling race. Finding its habitat near the Hindoo Koosh too limited, it spread itself westward over the Iranic plateau, and across the Tigris into the Euphrates Valley.

At what early date the Turanians near Accad first felt the pressure of the Aryan multitudes, history makes no mention; but when the Aryans, still expanding, reached the Indus about 2000, B. C., they found India peopled by a Turanian population. Therefore, by inference we may assume that, if the Indian peninsula from the Himalaya to the Deccan was already so well filled at 2000, B. C., Egypt, lying much nearer and smaller, must have been occupied some thousands of years previous.

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In the Mahabharata, the Aryan epic written about 1500, B. C., we find earnest invocations to the gods against the Turanians, and such allusion to their appearance as to leave no doubt of their color. The gods are implored to give the Aryans power over the "black-skinned" Dasyus, the black inhabitants of Himavat (Himalaya) and the "Black Cudra of the Ganges."

We cannot dogmatize upon the true date when the Turanian centre at Accad was pierced by the Aryan wedge; but it is natural to suppose that, as the Aryans were advancing from the East, the alarmed Turanians would take the direction furthest from the pressure. By the traces they left behind them we know that some fled to Egypt and to Southern Arabia, along the shore of the Persian Gulf, and others to the Armenian mountains—the southern shore of the Black Sea toward the Caucasus on one hand and the Bosphorus on the other—and so northward to Hyperborean climes in the tracks of a still earlier type of man.

Long continued research by Egyptologists has fixed the age of Menes at about 5000, B. C., or 3000 years earlier than the Aryan descent upon India. As the consolidation of tribes into a nation would require 500 years at least, we must add about that number of years to the age of Menes to find the beginning of the people who consolidated themselves into national strength.

On the Asiatic continent there are still abundant evidences of the color of early man. In the Dravidian Hill tribes, in Eastern Assam, the Malacca peninsula, Perak, Cochin China, the Andaman, Sandal and Nicobar Islands, we find from a host of authorities that it was black, and that some of the people had decidedly woolly hair, others kinky or frizzly hair, others straight and coal black. A still earlier man may be represented by the Negrillos—the Ainus, the Esquimaux and the Lapps.

On the African continent may be found their congeners in the pure negroes and the pigmies.

Logan, a prolific writer upon Asiatic ethnology, appears to be convinced that early man's first home was in Africa. Sir Wm. Flower believed that he originated in Southern India and, spreading east and west, peopled Melanesia and Africa. Allen derived the African negroes from Asia. Professor Seeley claimed that the negro race occupied a belt of land extending from Africa to Melanesia, which has since been submerged. De Quatrofages' theory was that man originated in tertiary times in Northern Asia,

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that the glacial period caused a great migration, but that the greatest mass of primitive humanity grouped itself in the Central Asiatic highlands, whence the three fundamental types, physical and linguistic, arose. The black race, he thought, appeared first in Southern Asia between the highlands and the sea.

The earliest writers, such as Herodotus, Aristotle, Pliny and Pomponius Mela mention the countries which were peopled by the Asiatic blacks. Thus, at the eastern extremity of the Black Sea, Herodotus relates that he found the Colchians were "black-skinned," with "woolly black hair," and conjectured therefrom that they were of an Egyptian race. By inference we learn that the Egyptians or some of them were of that type, "black and woolly haired," but, in his description of the troops under the Persian banner, he draws a distinction between the Eastern and Western Ethiopians. The first, he says, had "straight, black hair," while that of the latter was "quite woolly."

When the Aryans finally extended their conquests to Egypt, we may reasonably suppose that, however few or many of the primitive people had already started on their wanderings into unknown Africa, the shock of the Aryan advent must have then given those remaining a stronger impulse to scatter inland. It is clear from the tributes illustrated on the Theban monuments, that some of these fugitives from Egypt had prospered in the African interior; and it is just as clear from the brilliancy of their painted portraits in the tombs near Karnak, that the prisoners brought from Inner Africa resembled the average brown and black woolly-haired African of to-day. As early at 2500, B. C., Sankhara invaded Ophir and Punt (Somali Land) and brought much booty therefrom. In 2400, B. C., Osirtasen I. repeated the expedition. In 1600, B. C., Thothmes III. returned victorious from Punt; and in 1322, B. C., the great Sesostris inscribed his exploits in Ethiopia on the monuments. The Ethiopians built cities of renown, and grew into a proud and conquering nation, having at an early period found that across the Red Sea their Turanian congeners were settled in Southern Arabia, with whom they established a valuable trade. The ruins of Meroé, their ancient capital, between Berber and Khartoum, rival those of Egypt. The effect of these on Diodorus was such that he ascribed to the Ethiopians the origin of Egyptian religion and art! A prince of Ethiopia—the famous Memnon—lent aid to Troy in the

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thirteenth century before Christ. An army under Shishak, of Ethiopia, invaded Palestine with 1,200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen. Zerah, an Ethiopian, had started to fight Asa, King of Judah, with "a thousand thousand" men. Tirhakah, the "Melek Cush," King of the Ethiopians, defeated Sennacherib.

In the reign of Psammetichus I., successor of Tirhakah, 240,000 Egyptian soldiers affronted by their king emigrated to Ethiopia and were allotted lands in the region of the Automolii, probably near the modern Senaar. Until the seventh century, A. D., Ethiopia experienced the ups and downs of Egypt; but at this period the fanatic Arabs, unable to conquer the people of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), succeeded in isolating them, with the rest of the African continent to the south, from the civilized world.

It will thus be seen that another barrier, no less rigid and strong than the first, was raised against the African race.

The severe and exclusive Egyptians by their occupation of Egypt had blocked the return of the primitive settlers in Africa, at the northeastern end; the 1,500-mile wide Sahara and the Mediterranean Sea prevented communication with the progressive nations of Europe; the Atlantic and Indian Oceans separated them from all mankind on the west, south and east. The Straits of Babel Mandeb had, however, afforded Ethiopia means of communication with the people of Arabia, the Sabæans and the Jews, and the Ethiopians had profited in culture and wealth; but the fanatical Arabs closed even this passage to the outside world.

This is what makes Africa the best place in which to study primitive man, as he must have been in Asia, Europe and America, before history was conceived.

It is only, in fact, within the last thirty years that civilization can be said to have obtained a sure footing in the interior, and that we have been enabled to take note of the effects of certainly 7,000 years of in-breeding, consequent upon the long segregation of the black people within their impassable boundaries.

To-day, the descendants of the primitive Africans are to be found south of the twentieth degree of north latitude; and, despite the thousands of years during which they have been imprisoned within the continent, they have retained in a remarkable degree the physical characteristics of their primeval progenitors. The dwarfish tribes who captured the five Nasamonian explorers in the fifth century, B. C., near the Niger, are still represented by

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the pigmy Wambutti and the Akkas of the Congo forest, the Batwa of the Central Congo plains, the Akoas and Obongos of the Gaboon, and the Bushmen of South Africa.

What the pigmies' average height may have originally been it is difficult to state; but, by comparing the old Egyptian sculpture of a pigmy as he stands by an ordinary man of the past with a photograph of a modern pigmy and a modern man of the average height, it does not appear that the pigmy has improved in stature. The circumstances of his surroundings are much the same to-day as they must have been in the past. He is still the wild, shy man of the woods or desert, as he is represented to have been in the times of his earliest discoverers. He lives the same precarious existence, in earth burrows, or diminutive huts, preying on insects, ground game and mud fish, or on what he can steal from his taller neighbors. In central or southern Africa his presence has been a nuisance to the tillers of the soil, as well as to shepherds and herdsmen, and it has been resented continually, and prompt vengeance taken on him for his depredations. While his neighborhood has affected some of the taller tribes, as we may see in the dwarfish individuals found among them, his tribe seems not to have been affected at all; from which we may infer that when his sisters were made captive they met different treatment from that which he dealt to his captives. Here and there among the East and West Coast tribes, we meet with traces of a long residence of the pigmies near them. To-day the pigmies may not be found within hundreds of miles of them, but the clayey complexion, tufted hair and low stature are unmistakable proofs that at one time female pigmies have cohabited with males of the taller race.

The pure negroes are in a great majority over all other races in Africa, and are almost as much scattered over the continent as we believe the Turanians were over the world; but, wherever located, they are easily recognizable among their colored congeners.

That the reader may not be wearied with African names, it is best to divide Africa into divisions.

The first, beginning from the west, includes the Niger basin and its outskirts. The most prominent peoples in it are the Haussa, Yorubas, Fantis, Mandingoes, Wangara, Kanuri and Baghermis. These generally are of average height, but vary greatly in complexion, from dead black to dingy yellow. The darker are more often found along the coast, those on the desert

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border are much mixed with Berbers and Afro-Semitics from the east. The masses in the interior, though distinctly negro in complexion and physical character, possess considerable aptitudes for progress, as if long ago a higher race had impregnated them.

The second division comprises all that vast territory extending to the Nile from the fifteenth degree of east longitude, and southerly along the line of Nile waters and westward of the lake region down to the Zambesi River. The best known of these tribes are the Shilluks, Dinkas, Nuba, Niam-Niam, Mabodé, Azangé, Baris and the Congo tribes, such as the Manyema, Bakongo, Bateke, By-yanzi, Balunda, Balua and the Zambesi-Marotse, and others. In this division, the number of sub-tribes is immense. Except on the Nile shores, scarcely any of these tribes would be called black by an expert in African color, but rather a varying brown, between a light bronze and a brown verging on blackness. They are all, however, pure negro in type and are probably the finest specimens of unmixed negro humanity in Africa, being well developed and of great muscular strength. Few of these peoples in the central region have shown such advance in native manufactures as may be seen in Nigeria, but capacity for improvement is evinced by the beautiful brass and iron ornaments and weapons of the Mabodé and By-yanzi, by the hut architecture and domestic utensils of the Monbuttu, the grass cloths of the Bateke and the trading shrewdness and enterprise of the By-yanzi.

If we proceed now to the eastern division, which stretches from the Jub River to the Limpopo, and take a depth inland of about 300 miles, we find another set of negro tribes remarkably like those met in the second division, of good height, well set, and admirably muscular. Where the land is low, as in the immediate hinterland, the climate is hot and moist and the tribes are of a livid black, but immediately the highlands are reached the complexion lightens and the physique of the people improves. Many of the children, as in Ugogo and Unyamwezi, are almost fair in comparison with their parents. Nearer the coast land, many individuals among the tribes exhibit the effect of contact with a low-statured race.

The eastern sea fringe is occupied by a very mixed race, wherein may be traced repeated blendings with migrants from foreign stocks. It requires no great discernment to perceive that the indigenous peoples have freely mixed with Somalis, Gallas, Abyssinians, Arabs, East Indians and perhaps Jews, Sabæans and

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Phœnicians. The complexion of the people is of all shades from deep black to light olive, and the hair also proves the effects of foreign blood, though, as the foreigners were not in such numbers as to form a permanent race, there is a continued tendency toward reversion.

The most interesting division is the eastern central, which lies between the lakes and the eastern division; because, without doubt, it marks the highway of the warrior tribes which advanced in repeated waves toward the south, absorbed whole tribes of the autochthonous peoples blended with them, and formed a superior and victorious negroid race. It is easy to trace the march of this race through the ordinary negro tribes, by the physical superiority, the taller stature, the courage, discipline, organization and warring propensities of its descendants. The traditions of the natives also guide us as to the direction whence their ancestors came.

In my opinion, two streams of migrants flowed from the base of the Abyssinian Mountains—one from the direction of Senaar and Fazogl, and the other from Shoa. On approaching the Victoria Nile, the first crossed into Unyoro, and thence south between the lakes; the second advanced by way of Turkan and Kavirondo and overspread what is called the Great Rift Valley. It is clear that the first stream was the largest, because all trace of the second seems to be lost about the sixth degree of south latitude, while the course of the other is perceptible among the Kafirs at the Cape and the Zulus of Natal.

Before the conquering march of this host, the primitive peoples fled into the places of refuge which lay on either side of the route, such as the islands in the lakes, the higher slopes of Ruwenzori, and Mfumbiro mountains, the Congo forest, and other out-of-the-way resorts. It is among the descendants of these refugees that one may find customs and habits reminding us of the fish-eaters (the Ichthyophagi), the "Cave Dwellers," and the nomadic "Blemmyes" of Arabia. These tribes are always subordinate to the descendants of the conquerors who settled and occupied the lands, and who are to-day known as Wanyoro, Waganda, Wanyambu, Waha, Wafipa, Wangoni, Matabele, Zulu, etc.

Some of these are more negrified than others. They all have the woolly hair and many among them are as negroid in feature as the purest negro; but the majority still retain points in their physiognomies which stamp them as descendants of the old Ethi-

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opian stock, which has fertilized this belt of African humanity.

The Wanyambu further south than the Waganda, and the Wanyankori also, exhibit as close an affinity with the Abyssinians as the Wanyoro. In their lengthy limbs and their slender build, as well as in their refined features and small hands, they prove their descent. Among various tribes further south, such as the Wakaranga and Wanyamwezi, the Watusi herdsmen again maintain the tradition; and, though surrounded by powerful negro tribes, they refuse to be contaminated by intermarriage with them, and strike the traveller at once by their tall, slender, elegant figures, expressive eyes and delicate features. But for the hair, they might be taken for a tribe of Bishari lately imported into this region.

As we proceed south, we enter a region where the negro blood and type predominate, but a few hundred miles beyond it we pick up the trail of the Ethiopian again in the Wangoni country, only to lose it, however, beyond their boundary. Across the Zambesi in the Matabele country, we recognize the type once more, and behold the familiar features of Waha, Wakeréwé and Waganda, whenever an Indaba is held. Beyond the Matabele are the Zulus, who resemble very strongly the best class of Waganda.

In Cape Colony, the extremity of Africa, where humanity has whirled about considerably and formed curious mixtures, we see the Hottentots, Griquas, Namaquas and Korannas, a type formed by the average negro blended with the primitive "earth diggers" or Bushmen, when the Bushmen were not so few or so much despised as they are to-day. This breed is not so tall as the negro of the central regions, nor so dwarfish as the Bushmen. They have the clayey complexion and high cheek bones of the latter, as well as their tufted hair, but the muscular development and build of the true negro.

As regards North Africa, it is unnecessary to go into details respecting the Berber stock, which is the ancient "Barberi" of the Romans. The basic stock was, no doubt, that which peopled Egypt in the pre-historic age; but as its area was much larger, and as it formed itself into several independent tribes and nations, it was more exposed to the influence of the many European and Asiatic nations which in the course of time formed colonies, of which Dido's colony is an example. Among them, Greeks, Phœnicians, Goths, Gauls, Romans, Celtiberians, Arabs, Jews, French and Spaniards have left their traces freely on the mass of

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the peoples now found there, while the negro blood has not been wanting to give color and picturesqueness to their physiognomies.

Darwin says in his "Descent of Man:" "Although the existing races of men differ in many respects, as in color, hair, shape of skull, proportions of the body, etc., yet, if their whole organization be taken into consideration, they are found to resemble each other closely in a multitude of points."

No traveller who has penetrated Africa, with an open mind, can refrain from agreeing with this. I have endeavored to show the effects on the Africans of more than 7,000 years of in-breeding, to which they were compelled by their peculiar environments, and the rigid natural and artificial barriers raised against them, by which the original type of African has been perpetuated by repetition. When this fact first dawns on the traveller, he is moved by an emotion as great as that which affects him when gazing on the mummy of Sesostris after it lay entombed for thirty-three centuries. He has viewed the physiognomies of his own pre-historic ancestors, who occupied Asia hundreds of centuries before Menes and Ninus existed; and if he has been led by his thought to trace the fortunes of those pre-historic dark men, conquerors of the African, who elected to wander through Asia and Europe, he will begin to realize what his own cave-dwelling ancestry, who were contemporaries of the mammoth and the lion, were like.

There is no need to seek for traces of a submerged continent to locate the home of the first woolly-haired negro, or the clay-colored Bushmen and darker pigmy. Asia is of sufficient amplitude, provided we allow time enough and take into consideration its varieties of climate, for the strange divergences in the human races to have taken place within it. The continent that exhibits the almond-eyed Mongolian, the blue-eyed Circassian, the deep, black Gondas and Bhillas, the dark Paharias, the dwarfish Aeta, the hook-nosed Jew, and the short-nosed Tartar, could surely, in the very earliest ages of man, have produced such contrasts as the woolly-haired negro, and the silken-haired Aryan. But in all my travels I have seen nothing more wonderful than this, that, in whatever disguise I have found man, something in him seems to justify the belief that "we are all the children of one Father."

HENRY M. STANLEY.

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SCIENCE AND THE GOVERNMENT.

BY PROFESSOR SIMON NEWCOMB, LL.D., UNITED STATES NAVY.

It has sometimes been said that no other Government has so large and able a body of scientific experts in its employ as ours. To discuss in an exhaustive way the correctness of this statement would require a careful study of the systems adopted by other countries, especially France and Germany, in the administration of their public works. We should be met at the outset by the question whether the graduates of the Government technical schools of France and the men employed in Germany on public works of various kinds are to be included in the comparison. Whatever conclusion we might reach on this point, it may be conceded that no Government is more alive than our own to the public advantages which accrue from the applications of science to the arts of life, or has adopted a broader and wiser policy in promoting such applications.

Granting all this, there is a converse proposition on which it is not easy to reach an equally satisfactory conclusion. Notwithstanding the liberality of our policy in promoting scientific research, there is no Government less alive than our own to the advantages which it might derive from the advice and assistance of that large body of scientific experts who are not in Government employ. We fail to recognize the fact that questions of great practical importance are continually arising which cannot be dealt with in the most satisfactory way by the organized machinery of a Government bureau.

Our failure in this respect can be best seen by contrasting it with a class of cases in which nothing can be said against our wisdom in dealing with them. From time to time important questions of public and international law arise in which the best legal talent that the Government can command is necessary to the protection of its interests. In such cases we never hesitate to go outside the public service and call for assistance upon the

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ablest jurists of the country. We no more than any other Government would have thought of conducting our cases before courts of arbitration without calling in some addition to the ordinary machinery of our Department of Justice.

The same exigency arises in the application of scientific method to the administration of those great public works which the development of our country constantly imposes upon the general Government. Here is required, from time to time, a knowledge of details which we cannot always expect to be at the command of a Government officer, no matter what may be his qualifications. The question then arises, where and how we shall obtain the results of the widest knowledge and the latest researches.

The reasons why the knowledge and experience of a Government officer are not always adequate to the problems which may come before him are obvious. Whatever his abilities, he is in some sort a subordinate, and the general ideas of discipline inseparable from the public service impede his action and prevent his full responsibility from being publicly recognized. He always has a chief who, in the eye of the law, is the really responsible head to whom the Executive and Congress look for authoritative views. As a general rule the scientific official is nearly, or quite, unknown as an exponent of those views. His proper functions are to do what he is told, to apply his experience to the case before him, and to give his chief the benefit of his attainments. If his opinions happen, for the moment, to be opposed to the popular view, he may get himself or his chief into difficulty by trying to give them effect. The larger the measure of worldly wisdom with which nature has endowed him, the feebler will be his attempts to become a factor in directing the policy of the department with which he is connected. In any case, his studies are likely to be confined to the limited field embraced in the round of his official duties; and thus it may happen that, how great soever his influence, he will not always be the best counsellor on questions lying outside the routine of those duties. Such being the case, why should not the Government call upon the best scientific talent of the country for advice and assistance just as it calls upon the best legal talent when need arises for it?

One answer is not far to seek. The men of the highest judicial

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talent are publicly well known and easy to reach. No one in authority has any serious difficulty in learning who they are. But the public knows little of the standing of professors in the scientific world, or of the nature of the questions with which they are conversant. The result is that, if the system of calling in such men were adopted, any professor of chemistry of sufficiently good address, especially one who was accustomed to appearing before courts of law as an expert, might be called in as the best chemist, and any fine old gentleman who had published a brilliant essay on a new theory of the universe might be selected as an astronomer. In this respect other Governments are probably no better off than our own. It is said that some fifty years ago the British Admiralty had printed a few copies of an important work for presentation to some foreigners who, from their prominence in the scientific world, were best entitled to be honored with the gift. Professor Airy, the Astronomer Royal, was requested to make a selection of the names. A few days after he had sent in his list he was informed by the Secretary of the Admiralty that "my lords" were struck by the number of unknown names included; and that they wished to make an inquiry on the subject. Airy asked the Secretary for some specifications as to the names referred to.

"Well, as an example," said the Secretary, "here is the name of Professor C. F. Gauss, of Göttingen. Who is he?"

"Gauss is one of the greatest mathematicians of the age, and stands among the two or three most eminent masters in physical astronomy now living. Who else do you wish to know about?"

"No one else; that will do," replied the Secretary.

It is the principal object of the present paper to show that this difficulty, formidable though it may appear at a distance, vanishes when we come to grapple with it. In every civilized country there are organized bodies of men of science and learning, at least one of which is recognized as having a national character. The importance which has been played by these bodies in the progress of the age cannot be overestimated. Modern science, properly so called, commenced with the foundation of the Academy of Sciences of France by Colbert, and the charter of the Royal Society of London by King Charles II. In the beginning the organizers of these societies had no distinctly utilitarian end in view. They were moved only by an enlightened appre-

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ciation of the lustre that would be thrown upon their respective countries by the progress of science and learning. We cannot suppose that they had any anticipation of what the measures they adopted would lead to in future generations. The benefits of attrition between men of like and yet slightly diverse minds were doubtless appreciated, but could not have been estimated at their full value. As we may trace back a race of animals to its progenitors, so may we trace all our applications of electricity and heat to the men who, in France, England and Italy, came together for mutual help and sympathy in the study of nature during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

From the beginning these men were animated by an *esprit de corps* of which the world at large has taken little account, but which has been an important factor in the result. One who by long and patient study discovers truths that seem to him interesting and important, is naturally desirous of making them known to his fellow-men without respect to any personal advantage that might accrue to himself. Disinterestedness of motive has been the pivot on which the policy of the bodies in question has very generally turned. In the beginning the French Academy adopted a regulation prohibiting its members from using for their personal advantages discoveries made with the co-operation of the Academy. Although other societies have not gone so far as this, their general policy has wisely been directed to the general enlightenment of mankind and the promotion of its best interests, rather than to that of the personal interests of its members.

One of the most striking features of this spirit during the two centuries in question has been the separation of the functions of the investigator and discoverer from those of the inventor. The Galileos, Newtons, Herschels and Faradays of science; the men but for whom the nineteenth century would have been like the eighteenth, and that, like the seventeenth, did not reap or attempt to reap any pecuniary advantage from their works. While they may not have gone so far as the eminent mathematician who is said to have thanked Heaven that he cultivated a science that could not be prostituted to any useful purpose, it is certain that they were quite willing to leave to others the functions of determining in what way their discoveries could be applied to practical ends. This policy was essential to the highest success of their work. If they had not been guided by it; if they had always

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been on the alert for discovering something admitting of practical application, their work would have been wanting in that breadth and fulness which was necessary to its ultimate usefulness. Many a pearl now of great price would have been thrown into the dust heap because the finder would not have seen its value. What prospect could Volta and Galvani have seen of benefits being derived from their experiments on the movements of the legs of a frog when certain metals were brought into contact with the muscles of these animals?

In pointing out the value of the work of the investigator we by no means belittle the functions of the inventor. The world justly holds in honorable remembrance the names of the men who have applied to practical uses the discoveries made by the investigators. Their functions were clearly necessary to the result. The pecuniary rewards which they reaped were so small when compared with the good they have done that a mathematician might rank them among the infinitesimal quantities. Yet, we should not forget that the Watts, the Stephensons and the Morses never made any addition to our knowledge of the laws of heat, steam or electricity. What they did was to take the knowledge gained by others and apply it to practical uses. We cannot say that they have got more than their due share of public credit, but we may fairly say that the public has not always been sufficiently alive to the very different functions of the class of men who form the scientific academies and societies of the world.

It is perhaps from a consciousness of the distinction between these two classes that the world has always refused to award its highest appreciation to mere utility. Witness the very different estimation in which we hold the useful negro and the useless Indian. The sentiment of reverence for pure philosophy was even stronger in early ages than at the present time. The contempt of the ancient philosophers for useful applications of knowledge was none too strongly expressed by the sentiment of the mathematician whom we have quoted. The encouragement given to men of science and learning by the founders of the national scientific societies of Europe was based much more upon a consciousness of the honor that they would do to their respective countries than on any hope of useful results from their labors. At the same time it was evident that these men might be of great benefit to the State. The latter had from time to time

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serious need of broader views than those commonly taken by professional inventors. And thus Governments fell into the habit of consulting the members of their academies, either individually or collectively, on all questions in which their knowledge would be of benefit to the State.

One object of the present paper is to review what our Government has done in this direction. Its course has not been marked by any lack of appreciation either of the practical or æsthetic value of scientific research. Its policy in supporting scientific bureaus and promoting their work has perhaps been broader and more liberal than that of any other Government. It has never counted the mere dollars and cents of income and outgo in estimating the value of knowledge. It has clearly seen that possible permanent benefits to future generations, the value of which could not be estimated at the present time, must be taken into consideration.

What it has wanted is a knowledge of the best method of promoting the application of scientific principles to public works. It has relied too much upon its own officers and employees, and does not appreciate the advantages to be derived from associations like the Paris Academy and Royal Society of London. Abstractly every one knows that the question whether a ship shall be safely navigated to her port or be cast away on the rocks may turn upon the presence or absence of a very little knowledge on the part of her captain. But the public does not perceive that the same thing is true at every step which we take in the development of our resources. Cases are frequently arising in which the ordinary routine of Government work cannot be relied upon to secure the best results.

A single illustration from contemporary history will show what I mean better than generalities. In 1882 Congress made an appropriation for improving the water supply of Washington by extending an aqueduct under the city. It entrusted the entire work to its officers. The latter knew that under the soil on which the city was erected there existed a layer of solid rock, of sufficient hardness and consistency to serve for the walls of the proposed aqueduct. Accordingly the latter was hewn at a great depth through the rock and carried to a reservoir several miles away.

Nothing could be said against the professional capacity of the

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engineers who conceived and executed this plan. They carried on the work with that economy and on those sound business principles which characterize the operations of our Government engineers. They knew everything that an engineer could reasonably be expected to know. Yet they did not know that the rock through which they were hewing their aqueduct, firm though it appeared on inspection, would ultimately disintegrate under the action of water. The inevitable result would be that, in a few months or a few years, the rock in which the aqueduct was cut would be reduced to a mass of sand.

Had the Government been in the habit of consulting scientific experts who were not professional engineers, on every question of science that might arise, this knowledge would have been gained before the aqueduct was projected. The liability of some hard and solid rocks to disintegrate is well known to geologists. The services of one of these men would have cost little, and a very little study would have brought out the fact that the rock in question was of this class. For want of this study a large sum, perhaps a million of dollars or more, has been wasted on the work, and now, after the lapse of seventeen years, it is uncertain whether the aqueduct will ever be made use of.

We cannot say that the doings of our Government have uniformly been of this unsatisfactory character. When the Civil War burst upon us, the need of supplementing the professional attainments of Government officers by those of scientific men whose services were at command led to the formation of a scientific commission, to which various questions were from time to time referred. The organization of this commission was, we believe, somewhat informal. Indeed, we do not know to what extent it has been recognized in the history of the war. Among its members were Professor A. D. Bache, Superintendent of the Coast Survey; Professor Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and Rear-Admiral C. H. Davis, U. S. N., Chief of the Bureau of Navigation in the Navy Department. The usefulness of the commission suggested its being enlarged into a permanent organization similar to the academies of science of Europe. Thus arose our National Academy of Sciences, which was chartered by act of Congress in 1863. Its membership was at first limited to fifty; but the restriction of numbers was repealed by a supplementary act of Congress. The Academy was

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required to hold an annual meeting at such place in the United States as might be designated, and, whenever called upon by any department of the Government, to "investigate, examine, experiment and report upon any subject of science or art." The actual expense of the work performed was to be paid by the Government, but the Academy was to receive no compensation whatever for any services thus rendered.

This body labors under the great disadvantage of having its membership scattered over the entire country instead of being concentrated at the Capital, as is the case with the national academies of Europe. It is true that in England the fellows of the Royal Society reside in every part of Great Britain; but the great bulk of the membership is found in London and its immediate neighborhood. Still, our Academy has done enough for the Government to demonstrate the great value of its services. Twice in its history it has been called into council on questions of capital importance. One of these questions concerned the surveys of the public domain; the other the proper measures to be taken for the preservation of our forests. It will take but a cursory glance at these two questions to show the weak points in our system which such a body is needed to strengthen.

Explorations of our territories, carried on by parties which may be designated as semi-official, have been undertaken through the whole period of our national history. Such enterprises were formerly directed to some particular regions, or toward the attainment of some special end, and had no permanence in their organization. The explorer completed his journey and returned home to report what he had seen and learned.

About thirty years ago surveys and explorations having a greater or less permanence of character began to be undertaken. Among these enterprises the survey of Professor F. V. Hayden soon became the best known. The head of the survey combined a respectable position in the scientific world with tireless energy and great enthusiasm. He spent his summers in work in the field and his winters in rousing Congress to a sense of the importance of what he was doing and of the desirableness of larger appropriations for his work. He was so successful in these efforts that his organization grew apace and soon developed into the Geological Survey of the Territories.

Contemporaneously with this survey grew up another, under

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the War Department. The latter needed a survey specially prosecuted for military purposes. In some features it was necessarily different from a purely geological survey. At the same time it was very evident that a party executing a survey for military purposes could very easily include in its scope all the requirements for a complete geographical and geological exploration. Congress responded to an appeal on this basis, as it did to the appeals of Hayden, and thus arose the Geographical Survey of the Territories, which was carried on by the Chief of Engineers of the Army, under the personal direction of Lieutenant Wheeler.

Besides these two permanent surveys, others somewhat temporary in character were executed. One was that of Clarence King, which was confined to the region near the fortieth parallel. Another was that of Major J. W. Powell, which was specially devoted to the great Cañon of the Colorado. The field work of this survey was speedily completed, but the preparation and publication of the results extended through several years.

Leaving out of consideration these more or less temporary enterprises, we had the curious spectacle of the Government supporting two independent surveys of the same region for almost the same purpose, neither of which had any official knowledge of the work of the other. Both were vigorously engaged in making a map of Colorado; both mapped down the lines of communication, the one for military purposes, the other for civil purposes. We can hardly suppose that there was any great and essential difference between the two. Both had the requirements of agriculture and the investigation of the mineral resources in view. The two parties sometimes mounted their theodolites on the same mountains, triangulated the same regions, came to Washington in the winter, prepared maps showing the progress of their work in the same region, and submitted them to Congress in support of increased grants of money. The Hayden Survey finally had the pleasure of publishing a complete atlas of Colorado, and the Wheeler Survey of issuing a number of maps of the same territory about the same time. Both were proceeding with undiminished vigor to extend their work over other territories.

It would not be just to say that this state of things illustrated the incapacity of Congress to deal with a disputed administrative question. We cannot suppose that Congress failed to see the difficulty and was not fully capable of grappling with it. What it

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really illustrates is the repugnance of Congress to the adoption of decisive measures of any sort for the settlement of a disputed administrative question. Infant bureaus are its infant children. They may quarrel with each other and eat up the paternal substance; but the parent cannot make up his mind to starve them outright. They must be fed and nurtured with the hope that, at some time in the distant future, they will grow so wise as to live together in harmony.

But in the present case, as the years passed away, there was no prospect of such a happy consummation, even in the remote future. Both surveys were determined to carry through their entire work. The one unofficially reviled the political methods of the other; the latter retorted with equally unofficial reflections on the scientific incapacity of its rival. If one showed finer maps, the other showed how economical it was to get up a less artistic map.

Various attempts were made to devise some plan of reconciliation or some system by which the two surveys should not duplicate each other's work. But it does not seem that anything came of these efforts. Then it was that Mr. A. S. Hewitt, of New York, a member of the Committee on Appropriations, bethought himself that the Government had at its command a body which could deal with the question in an intelligent way, without being affected by parental sympathy for either infant. This was the National Academy of Sciences. The committee accepted his view, and, in accordance therewith, a clause was inserted in the Sundry Civil Bill of June 30, 1878, requiring the Academy at its next meeting to take the matter into consideration, and "report to Congress as soon thereafter as may be practicable, a plan for surveying and mapping the territory of the United States on such general system as will, in their judgment, secure the best results at the least possible cost."

Several of the older and more conservative members of the Academy held that the proposed report did not come within the proper sphere of that body. The question of a plan for surveying the territories of the United States, it was claimed, was not one of either literature, science or art, but of public administration, which it was the duty of Congress to deal with. Referring such a question to the Academy was drawing the latter into the arena of political discussion to an extent that would be detri-

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mental to its future standing and usefulness. But it was quite evident, on the other hand, that the Academy, a creature of Congress, could not well join issue with the latter on the question of its proper functions. Moreover, an opportunity of rendering a great service to the Government should not be lost for so slight a reason. The membership included not only men connected with both surveys, but many others acquainted with every aspect of the case, and able to take a broad view of the whole question.

As might have been expected under the circumstances, the report of the committee was radical, drastic and comprehensive. All the work of surveying and mapping the territories was considered as a whole; and it was to be prosecuted under a single department. The co-operating bureaus would thus be placed in close communication with each other, and their proper limits defined by superior authority. The interior work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, the surveys of the Land Office, and the preparation of maps of the whole region were all to be carried out as parts of one and the same general plan.

Such a proposal was too radical to receive the immediate and unqualified assent of Congress. The most powerful and active opposition came from the Surveyors-General of the Land Office, who succeeded in having their own department dropped from the scheme. The Coast and Geodetic Survey, while raising no strong objection to the change, did not actively favor it. From a purely official point of view the army survey made the most vigorous fight against extinction. But it was unsuccessful, and the two rival surveys were both wiped out and replaced by the Geological Survey of the public domain.

If the success of an organization is to be measured by the amount of public support which it has received; by the constant extension of its work and influence, and by the gradual dying out of all opposition, then must the plan be considered a brilliant success. In this connection it must be remarked that the Academy is in no way responsible for the extension of the Geological Survey into the States. Its plan was in terms limited to the national domain. The membership of the Academy was so cautious and conservative that it may well be doubted whether a plan for extending the survey into the States would have met with its approval. Whatever view we may entertain on this question, it

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is certain that the extension by Congress, on its own motion, of the plan devised by the Academy cannot be regarded as anything but a compliment to the work of this body.

A question of even greater importance than that of surveying the public domain is that of the administration of the forest land under control of the general Government. Our forest administration is principally under control of the Interior Department. Heads of that department have long met with insuperable difficulty in protecting the public interests vested in the forests against the encroachment of private parties. Mining companies, ostensibly cutting timber for their use, were really lumber companies selling it for their own private purposes. Pretended settlers entitled to the use of the timber were really the agents of corporations. Regulations for the protection of the forests against depredation were found incapable of enforcement. These depredations increased with the growth of population, until, a few years ago, we were confronted with the prospect of the entire destruction of all the timber worth cutting from the public lands.

In 1896 Secretary Hoke Smith called upon the National Academy of Sciences for a report on the subject. In his letter to the President of the Academy he said:

"My predecessors in office for the last twenty years have vainly called attention to the inadequacy and confusion of existing laws relating to the public timber lands and consequent absence of an intelligent policy in their administration, resulting in such conditions as may, if not speedily stopped, prevent a proper development of a large portion of our country; and because the evil grows more and more as the years go by, I am impelled to emphasize the importance of the question by calling upon you for the opinion and advice of that body of scientists which is officially empowered to act in such cases as this."

The Academy commission devoted more than a year to an extensive investigation of the whole subject. Its report included not only a study of the conditions in our own country, but of the policies adopted by foreign countries, especially Germany, and their results. But no sooner did Congress begin to act on the report by enacting the legislation recommended in it, than its conclusions were violently attacked. Such a result was both right and natural. For the same reason that the Anglo-Saxon race find it wise that the conclusions of one legislative body should

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be independently examined and reviewed by a second, it is always fitting that any proposals on so complicated a question as this should be put to the test of the closest examination and criticism before being accepted. The question whether the criticisms originated with men who were profiting by the lax system in vogue might well arise, but need not be considered.

In the discussion which followed, the interests of the public were at a disadvantage. The assailants wielded great political power in their respective States. They had against them only the moral force behind a report made by men of the highest authority, who had no personal end in view. For a time it seemed as if they would be successful and the Academy would suffer rather than gain in the opinion of the Government by the report it had made. But the moral force behind the report was such that, in the long run, some of the severest critics saw their error, and the most essential features of the plan were carried into effect by legislation and executive action. The Interior Department, the Geological Survey and the Department of Agriculture are all prosecuting different branches of the work with harmony and success, a consummation in strong contrast with the state of things which formerly prevailed.

The need of such expert knowledge as can be supplied by men who are foremost in every branch of research is one that must constantly grow with the complexity of the problems that face our Government. The problems associated with the initiation of new public works, especially those which involve the application of some new principle, the administration of the national domain, irrigation and the public health are examples. The smallness of the money cost of such knowledge is perhaps one reason why its importance is overlooked. We naturally are inclined to measure value by cost. It would not be surprising if the sums expended a few years ago in bombarding the sky to bring down rain should far exceed the annual average cost of all the expert assistance the Government would ever need for a generation to come.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

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THE GENESIS OF "AMERICANISM."

BY J. ST. CLAIR ETHERIDGE.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March contained an article from the pen of Mgr. Péchenard, the rector of the Catholic University of Paris, on "The End of Americanism in France." Those who have read with interest this *oraison funèbre* will desire to hear the story of the genesis of Americanism; for, as Mgr. Péchenard remarks, "Americanism has had a history." Such a supplement to an article on the passing of the newest heresy is needful; for, even at this late date, the people of America know little or nothing about a movement which is regarded as one of the most deplorable incidents in the history of the Catholic Church in recent times. The literature of Americanism is almost entirely in a foreign language, and Americanism itself was unheard of in the United States until the moment when the news of its condemnation was cabled from Rome.

To the term "Americanism" two widely different meanings have been attached—one political, the other religious. Political Americanism was first brought into prominence forty years ago by Father Hecker, the founder of the Paulist Congregation. It maintains that Catholics accept with the fullest frankness and loyalty the Constitution of the United States as suited in every way to the Church in America, and also that the principles which the Church stands for are of vital importance to the great Republic of the West. Father Hecker realized that the Church in America presented, at least to the superficial glance, a foreign aspect. "It is not natural with us," he wrote before his conversion; "hence, it does not meet our wants, nor does it fully understand and sympathize with the experiences and dispositions of our people."*

* "Life of Father Hecker," by the Rev. Walter Elliot, page 137.

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However, upon a closer acquaintance with the Catholic religion, he discovered the wonderful harmony which exists between the principles that underlie the Constitution of the United States and those which are bound up with the charter of the Church. And when, after many struggles and wanderings, he became a Catholic and entered the priesthood, mindful of his own difficulties, he lost no opportunity of showing his countrymen that America is the congenial home of the Church, and that the Church is the most efficient ally of democracy. Political Americanism, then, simply means that every good Catholic in America should also be a good citizen, that every loyal member of the Church should also be a loyal member of the Commonwealth. It promotes every movement that aims at uplifting the masses politically and socially, and seeks to leaven with the principles of Christianity all the relations of life, public and private. Without abating a jot or tittle of Catholic doctrine, it strives to break down the barriers of bigotry, and to unite Catholics with their non-Catholic fellow citizens in every cause that makes for the welfare of the people. Without sacrificing an essential of Catholic organization, it adapts the external methods of the Church to the needs of the times, and of a people gathered from every land under the sun and chanting the creeds of a hundred denominations. Americanism, in this sense of the term, far from being condemned by Leo XIII., was approved and blessed by him. It is only the embodiment of the principles laid down in his memorable letter to the French people, exhorting the Catholics of France to identify themselves with the nation.

Religious Americanism is that body of crude heretical opinions lately condemned at Rome and contained—so Mgr. Péchenard and his school allege—in the same biography of Father Hecker in which political Americanism is also set forth. Father Hecker and they who sanctioned his principles and methods, it is charged, would minimize Catholic doctrine in order to gain adherents to the Church. They would exalt natural qualities of character, but at the expense of supernatural virtues. They would give to the individual a liberty of thought and action incompatible with the scope of ecclesiastical authority. They would advocate the absolute separation of Church and State in all countries and in all circumstances. They would even lay down false principles of piety, and regard as out of date the great religious orders, depre-

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ciating the moral value of the vows which hold these vast spiritual organizations together. From the "Life of Father Hecker," by the Rev. W. Elliot, or rather from a French adaptation of that work, M. l'Abbé Charles Maignen extracted the opinions which we have rehearsed and labelled them "Americanism." By what process these errors were obtained from the biography of Father Hecker; by what right they received the name of Americanism; for what motives they were foisted upon Catholics of America, and by what men all this was done, we now proceed to set forth.

M. l'Abbé G. Peries, formerly a Professor in the Catholic University of Washington, is the Coryphæus of Americanism. Four years ago, M. Peries was removed from the University for causes which do not here concern us. The following letter addressed by him to Bishop Hortsmann, who laid it before the Board of Trustees of the University on the occasion of the dismissal of the Professor, explains itself and throws light upon the origin of Americanism:

"I do not want any scandal, but I must warn you that if something is made against me, the country at large, and the Roman competent congregation will know what has been the spirit of this house, and I will do that, not in view of the mean revenge, but for the interests of the Church.

"I hope, nevertheless, that nothing such will be necessary, and that I will not be obliged for the honor of my name, and the defense of my interests, to enter a struggle which would prove disadvantageous for several, and for the great aim we have in view in this institution.

"G. Peries.

"Please do not lose my documents. I can want them again."

This letter, as it stands, is an extract from the Minutes of the Twentieth Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University of America, April 18, 1896.*

On his return to France, M. Peries straightway began his work of reprisal. In the threatening letter which he had addressed to Bishop Hortsmann, he had declared his intention of making an exposure—the interests of the Church demanded it—unless he were retained in his position at the University; and so, for more than two years, he conducted a campaign of calumny against the Church in America, and indeed against America itself, with all its institutions, social and political. He was meantime joined by the fanatic of the movement, M. l'Abbé Maignen, who, in a book entitled *"Le Père Hecker—Est il un Sainte?"* formulated the errors at present known under the name of Amer-

* *The New Era*, June 17, 1899.

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icanism, and ascribed them to Father Hecker and other Americans.

M. Maignen's views of America, characteristic of the school to which he belongs, will be new to the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW; indeed, the possibility of such views being held by any man in his senses will be a revelation to people who speak the English language. He assures us that America, as a nation, "is not even in swaddling clothes, it has yet to be born." "Hostile races are meeting and clashing within the walls of the American continent, like Esau and Jacob in their mother's womb; * * * nobody knows or can know what will come out of the chaos" (p. 171). Americans are little better than Bedouins: "You live in the midst of uptorn populations of immigrants, who wander over the vast American continent without finding a place of rest" (p. 214). His heart goes out to an anonymous friend who writes: "You cannot understand how we suffer at finding ourselves so far from *la belle France* among this greedy people" (p. 284). The two latter passages have been omitted by M. Maignen in the English translation of his book. They, doubtless, belong to the class of sentences to which Mgr. Satolli referred in his letter to the author: "I believe the English version has done well in softening that vivacity not easily separable from the French language. I notice, moreover, that certain passages have been modified for the better."

M. Maignen does not approve of the Parliament of Religions. He is shocked at the iniquity of those Catholics who took part in proceedings which were opened by a recital of the *Pater Noster* according to the Protestant formula. In that formula, "which" is used instead of "who" in the opening words of the prayer, and M. Maignen gravely informs his readers that "'which' is a pronoun applied to animals and things, not persons" (p. 220). This learned note is also omitted in the English version of the book.

It would be interesting to reproduce in full M. Maignen's views on things American—on the race war which is about to break forth in the United States, "violent and irresistible," and on the golden staircase built by George Gould; and on another staircase, each step of which is to cost 14,000 francs, and on President McKinley as an incendiary. All these details would be valuable from the psychological point of view, and would prepare us for M. Maignen's methods of controversy; but we must regretfully pass them over.

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M. Maignen, as a critic and theologian, is an adept in all the devices of the heresy hunter. He puts upon the rack the thoughts of the simple priest whom he is pursuing, and strives to extort from them by hook or crook matter for the condemnation of the Inquisition. He subjects to the solvent of syllogisms the meditations of a truly sacerdotal heart; and, with the help of scholastic distinction and subdistinction, he proves that such views are not to be found in Mgr. Satolli's abstruse metaphysical treatises, nor in the tomes of mediæval theology in the midst of which his life is passed. He wrenches passages from their context and bases upon them charges that are refuted in the very chapters from which the sentences are torn. He attributes to American prelates every vagary of liberalism which appears in obscure European journals, and, with unsurpassed insolence and impudence, he calls upon them to disavow articles which they have never heard of. He places in violent juxtaposition with a discourse of Archbishop Keane, as orthodox as the canons of the Council of Trent, a heretical article in the *Contemporary Review*, and, with an audacity that is truly ludicrous, makes one of the most pious prelates of the American Church speak the language of Welhausen and Harnack! Worst of all, M. Maignen has been repeatedly convicted of downright dishonesty. He accuses Father Hecker—a priest known to all as a man of exalted piety—of lacking in the fundamental devotion of the Catholic religion, and when from pages of surpassing beauty a score of thrilling tributes to the Incarnate Word are quoted to him as words of the man whom he assails, he is reduced to savage but impotent silence. Again, in order to establish Father Hecker's lack of reverence to the Crucified, he counts the number of times the name of Jesus occurs in his biography, and triumphantly asserts that "the Adorable Name is not pronounced perhaps five times in this volume of almost five hundred pages." A critic, suppressing his disgust for such senile logic, points out that the Sacred Name is found in the book not five but thirty times*—more frequently than in many standard works of Catholic devotion. To this instance of dishonesty we must add a case of falsification so flagrant as to throw serious discredit on M. Maignen's entire work. One of the "proofs" which he brings to show Father Hecker's lack of piety is as follows: "The only reproach recorded in

* *La Vie Catholique*, Oct. 27, 1899.

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Father Hecker's life is one which he addressed to a young priest who wanted more time for prayer, and him he advised to go and 'suck his thumbs' out of America" (p. 142). Turning now to the biography of Father Hecker (p. 407), we find this account of the incident referred to:

"The following anecdote of his missionary days shows Fr. Hecker's contempt for lazy devotion. Once when upon a mission a young priest, just returned from Rome where he had made his studies, expressed his desire to go back to Italy as soon as possible, saying, 'I find no time here to pray.' Father Hecker felt indignant, for it did not seem to him that the young man was very much occupied. 'Don't be such a baby,' said he. 'Look around and see how much there is to be done here. Is it not better to make some return to God—here in your own country—for what He has done for you, rather than to be sucking your thumbs abroad? What kind of piety do you call that?' "

And yet this book, the classic of Americanism, is dedicated by its author to Jesus and Mary, and even attributed to them as their work. Never in the annals of controversy has such a book borne such a dedication. It is now plain why the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris refused his imprimatur to this volume, and why the work finally saw the light only when, in contravention of the rules of the Index,* a Roman firm was added to the French publishers and Father Lepidi, a Dominican monk, gave permission to print it.

To the question, Are the opinions which have been condemned under the name of Americanism contained in the biography of Father Hecker? it must be said that whoever reads the book not in the spirit of the partisan theologian, but in the simple good faith of the man who wrote it, will find in it nothing even remotely opposed to Catholic teaching. With the methods, however, which M. Maignen employs, the most orthodox Catholic work may be made to yield every heresy from Gnosticism to Jansenism. *The New York Freeman's Journal* (March 4, 1899) draws attention to the fact that the fundamental error attributed to Father Hecker, obedience to a subjective guide rather than to the Church, would astonish no one more than Father Hecker himself. "A reference to Father Hecker's original writings," says the *Freeman's Journal*, "shows that he taught the very opposite of the error attributed to him. * * * We knew Father Hecker well, and we know that to him the voice of the Church was the

* *The Times*, Sept. 15, 1899.

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voice of God." And what is true of this error is true of every other erroneous opinion alleged to have been found in the book. For instance, M. Maignen asserts that Father Hecker intended to introduce a new theory of spiritual direction, while, in the very biography from which he argues, the author explicitly states on this point: "It need hardly be said that Father Hecker did not claim to have any new doctrine; there can be none, and he knew it."* Again, M. Maignen charges Father Hecker with scorning the passive virtues, but in the same breath he is forced to confess that Father Hecker's "best inspirations and his finest pages are those from which radiates, with a singular intensity, the mild but powerful glow of the passive virtues."† Similarly, the liberty of individual action, in which the French theologian can see only a subversion of authority, *The Month,* the English Jesuit magazine, takes as evidence of a remarkable breadth of thought.‡ No unbiased reader can fail to see that what Father Hecker understood by individual action is simply that bold and self-reliant personal initiative which, in the military life, marks the American soldier and makes of him a thinking bayonet.

It has been said that the translation of Father Hecker's biography upon which M. Maignen brought his syllogisms to bear is responsible for some of the errors referred to; but we are inclined to agree with l'Abbé Naudet, a distinguished French priest, who writes (in *"Justice Sociale"*): "If Americanism is a body of doctrine, we confess having found it in the books of Abbé Maignen, and in diverse articles published in *'La Vérité,'* but we have not seen it elsewhere—not even in the French adaptation of the 'Life of Father Hecker.'"

Another book which forms a picturesque contribution to the campaign of Americanism, and illustrates the fanaticism that runs through the entire movement, is *"L'Americanisme et la Conjuration Antichrétienne, par M. l'Abbé Henri Delassus."* M. Delassus, scorning the petty calumnies of M. Maignen, sets himself to demonstrate that Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland and other American prelates are in collusion with Jews and Freemasons to hasten the triumph of Antichrist and the overthrow of the Church. The book is brilliant with such gems of knowledge as that Disraeli was Prime Minister of England for forty

* "Life of Father Hecker," p. 302.
† "*Le Père Hecker*," p. 103.
‡ *The Month*, July, 1888.

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years, and that England spends vast sums annually in fostering disloyalty and discontent in France. It is beneath notice.

A more important factor in the movement we are considering is the *"Civiltà Cattolica,"* the principal organ of the Jesuits. This Italian journal has done immense harm to the best interests of religion by the narrowness and intolerance of its views. Its bigotry, political and theological, its truculent methods of controversy, and its impatience of liberty and progress in every form are contributing much to alienate the intellectual element of Europe from the Church. It was the *"Civiltà Cattolica"* which, more than any other European journal, rendered possible the greatest hoax of the nineteenth century. It may be necessary to remind American readers that, a few years ago, Leo Taxil, a pretended convert to Catholicity, made revelations of Freemasonry which were so absurd that only the most rabid credulity and fanaticism could swallow them. A mythical young lady named Diana Vaughan was the medium of the exposure. Having been initiated into the secrets of the Masonic sects at an early age, and having had several interviews with the devil himself at Charleston, South Carolina, she was eminently qualified to unveil the mysteries of an organization which was devoted to the worship of his Satanic Majesty. During three years, in a series of articles which showed the hand of the keen theologian, the *"Civiltà Cattolica"* popularized the revelations of Leo Taxil, and proclaimed as implicit a faith in Diana Vaughan as those good men of the Delassus type who were making mementoes daily for her in their masses. Even after Diana had announced that she had been married to the devil and had found him young and handsome, the *"Civiltà Cattolica"* never wavered in its gullibility; Diana Vaughan's revelations were "precious publications which were unequalled for exactness and usefulness." From this it may easily be gleaned what part the Jesuit journal was prepared to play in Americanism. Men who believed that at Charleston the devil regularly appeared, horns and tail and all, and that the beautiful Southern city was "the sovereign centre of Satan worship," could easily convince themselves that America itself was the seat of any or every grotesque heresy.

The *"Civiltà Cattolica"* has always been the enemy of democracy and of democratic institutions, and hence of America and of all the principles which America represents. Only a few

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years ago, in an article entitled *"La Scuola dei Equivoci,"* and aimed at America, it proved with enthymemes of matchless cogency that the very idea of a democracy is a contradiction in terms; and in the latest issue which lies before us, it ridicules the loyalty of American Catholics to the Stars and Stripes.

The fanaticism and Americophobia which we have seen at work in France and Italy were also active in Canada. In the hands of M. Jules P. Tardivel, *"La Vérité"* of Quebec vied with *"La Vérité"* of Paris in bigotry and bitterness. To M. Tardivel belongs the unique distinction of having demonstrated that Diana Vaughan was a creature of flesh and blood. At a time when every wag in Europe knew that Diana Vaughan had no existence outside the imagination of Leo Taxil, and when every man of judgment was wondering at the gullibility and fanaticism of so many Catholics, M. Tardivel assumed the *rôle* of detective and swooped down upon the Hôtel Mirabeau, Rue de la Paix, Paris. To obviate any possibility of deception, he took with him a friend and an official of the Civil Court of Paris. An investigation of the registry led to the discovery that Diana Vaughan had sojourned for a whole week at the hostelry, and had eaten and drunk like other people. M. Tardivel had a *procès verbal* drawn up at once, which, when duly signed and sealed, should convince the world that Diana Vaughan was not a simple myth. During the three years which have elapsed since his visit to the Hôtel Mirabeau, M. Tardivel has changed but little. Americanism is his new Diana Vaughan. The title of his book, which has appeared quite recently, and which contains his contributions to the literature of Americanism, is *"La Situation Religieuse aux États Unis."*

M. Tardivel's chief qualification for his *rôle* of controversialist is, like that of his allies, hatred of America. The American Government, he tells us, is built upon an unsound principle (p. 129); it is the eldest daughter of Freemasonry (p. 130), and its people are atheistic in spite of the President's proclamation establishing Thanksgiving Day (p. 131). Blasphemy and other violations of God's commandments are protected by our laws (p. 133). Even the English language, "which, somewhat modernized, *i. e.*, corrupted, is generally spoken in America, is the vehicle of materialism, for it is in English that there arises from all this vast territory the blasphemous concert in honor of the golden calf, the idol of the American people" (pp. 217 and

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218). The public schools engender crime and nurture ignorance (p. 71); indeed, "the public school is an engine of hell" (p. 162). Nowhere are there so many fervent adepts of the world cursed by Christ as in the United States of North America (p. 141).

The entire book is a foul and contemptible calumny on America. As one reads it, one is forced to ask, Why is it that all the men who "discovered" Americanism, and then clamored for its condemnation, are, without exception, slanderers of America?

The man who has most recently made his voice heard in the one-sided controversy on Americanism is Mgr. Péchenard. He comes to bear witness to "the happy frame of mind" in which his countrymen have been put by the passing of Americanism. As might be expected, in one holding his position, his sympathies lie with the titled *réfractaires,* who cannot but be pleased with the orthodoxy of his article in this REVIEW. But certain it is that now, more than ever before, the friends of the University of Paris will mourn the loss of Mgr. d'Hulst, the predecessor of the present rector, who would never have suffered that great seat of learning to become the ally of men who attempted to blacken the fair name of the American Church.

To this list may be added the names of three others more familiar to the public—Cardinal Mazzella, Cardinal Satolli and the Rev. David Fleming.

Cardinal Mazzella, a Neapolitan Jesuit, has, since his elevation to the Sacred College, devoted his life to advancing the interests of his Order. He is the mouthpiece of the *"Civiltà Cattolica"* and the executive of its policy.

Cardinal Satolli is well known in America as the first Apostolic Delegate to the United States. It was during his sojourn at Washington that, in some unaccountable way, he meddled in the affairs of the Catholic University, throwing the weight of his influence against the American members of the faculty, and in favor of the foreign element which was then led by Professors Schroeder and Peries. He eventually obtained from the Pope the letter demanding the resignation of Bishop Keane. Since his return to Rome, he has maintained an attitude of sullen hostility to America and everything American.

Father Fleming is a Franciscan monk, and he was the friend and co-laborer of Dr. St. George Mivart. He was formerly highly respected at Rome as an exemplar of large-mindedness. Recently,

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however, in obedience to the edict of his Order, he has become the exponent of English reactionary views, and he is rapidly atoning by his zeal in his new cause for his theological escapades of former years.

These three men engineered the condemnation of Americanism at Rome. They made M. Maignen's theses their own and led the Roman Curia to take cognizance of them.

Such are the principal factors in the genesis of Americanism —the men who labored to fasten the charge of heresy upon American Catholics. They are typical representatives of a composite school of thought which is a standing menace to the peace of the Church. They execrate America with a blind fierceness that would be incredible to us did we not have ocular evidence of it, and their hatred of America is only an expression of their hatred of democracy. They are the ecclesiastical allies of all the political *réactionaires* of the Old World, who would fain blot out from the continent of Europe every vestige of democracy—the theological scriveners of all who chivalrously and foolishly cling to lost causes and *régimes* of olden days. So unreasoning is their detestation of republican institutions that M. Maignen, the leading spirit among them, openly resisted the Pope's call to the Catholics of France to rally to the Republic. M. Maignen's conduct was on that occasion so insubordinate that Mgr. Ferrata, the Papal representative at Paris, closed the doors of the embassy against him. Thus is it that these Grand Inquisitors of the American Church hate democracy more than they love the Pope. They hunted down Father Hecker because he was guilty of the unpardonable sin of believing that the future belongs to democracy, and that democracy will understand and cherish the Catholic Church. Therefore it is that Father Hecker, and they who think with him, must at all costs be branded as heretics, for a charge of heresy is always the shortest and easiest way of disposing of a man.

The result of the agitation inaugurated by these men was to put before the world a body of doctrines which were utterly at variance with elementary Catholic principles, and which, if actualized, would be pernicious to the Catholic religion. Such was the furore caused by Americanism in France and Italy that, in the interests of the faith, the Sovereign Pontiff was obliged to take cognizance of the opinions labelled with that name, and to

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condemn them wherever they might be found. This he did in the famous document addressed to Cardinal Gibbons.

This letter, hailed by the enemies of America as a triumph, is in reality the only bright page in the history of Americanism. As we read it we feel that we have passed from the atmosphere of sordid strife, where men with motives live and squabble, into the august presence of one of the greatest Pontiffs of the Church. Every line of the document breathes respect for the Church in America, and of that Church no member, be he bishop, priest or layman, is censured or condemned. "Certain opinions concerning the methods of Christian life," "which are sometimes included under the name Americanism," and "which have been brought in" (by some persons not named), are false and dangerous and to be repudiated—such is the sum and substance of Leo's decision. The Pope not only carefully guards himself against imputing to American Catholics the errors sometimes included under the name Americanism, but even signifies his incredulity that such errors are held by Americans. "If, indeed, by that word (Americanism) is meant qualities of mind which distinguish the people of America as other nations are distinguished, and in so far as the expression applies to the constitution of your States and laws, there is not, assuredly, the smallest reason for us to think it should be rejected. But if it is used not only to describe but also to justify the errors we have already pointed out, what doubt can there be that our venerable brethren, the Bishops of America, will be the first to reject and condemn it as injurious to themselves and the whole nation?"

And promptly came from the American Hierarchy the disavowals for which the Pope looked. The press announced from day to day that five archbishops and their suffragan bishops, representing some of the greatest Sees of America, while condemning what the Pope condemned, respectfully defended the American Church against the imputation of heresy. Americanism, they wrote, as synonymous with false doctrine, was unknown in the land. These prelates are Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore; Archbishop Williams, of Boston; Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul; Archbishop Riordan, of San Francisco, and Archbishop Kain, of St. Louis. To these may be added Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, and his bishops, who informed his Holiness that scarcely any among the souls committed to their care held the false prin-

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ciples so justly condemned. From Chicago and Dubuque came no reply, the archbishops of these provinces being then ill. The archdiocese of Santa Fé was vacant. The Archbishops of Portland, Cincinnati and New Orleans did very little more than acknowledge with reverence the receipt of the Pontiff's letter. Out of the fourteen archdioceses of America two only—those of Milwaukee and New York—reported the presence of Americanism. This had been expected. The letter from the ecclesiastical province of Milwaukee represented the views of four German bishops; and, although the friends of these prelates defend their action on the ground that not one of the good pious men had ever read the "Life of Father Hecker," it should by no means be overlooked that Milwaukee is the pet preserve of Cahenslyism—it is a Fatherland itself against the influx of American ideas. As to miniature American Germany, more carefully barred than the New York, it is said with much show of reason that had there not been of old serious friction between that See and those of Baltimore and St. Paul, Archbishop Corrigan might not have so suddenly detected the smell of heresy. This is rendered probable by the fact that the "Life of Father Hecker," from which the heresy was supposed to have been extracted, actually bore the imprimatur of Archbishop Corrigan himself. Be this as it may, it is now more than an open secret that the letter which his Grace of New York sent to Rome in the name of his suffragans did not represent the views of some at least of the bishops whose signatures it bore.

And here we must call attention to a glaring instance of the bad faith of the enemies of America. The *"Civiltà Cattolica"* and all the journals that take their cue from the Jesuit organ published the two letters which alone reported the existence of heresy in the American Church, as also the letters which courteously acknowledged the receipt of the Roman letter; but they sedulously excluded from their pages the letters of the archbishops who protested that the condemned doctrines were unknown in America. The *"Civiltà Cattolica,"* which alone seems to have had access to the replies sent by the American Hierarchy, has not given to the public the letters on Americanism forwarded to Rome from five of the chief centres of the Catholic religion in the United States. It has never alluded even to the reply of Cardinal Gibbons, to whom the Papal document had been addressed. And

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while it suppresses the testimony of bishops whose names would carry weight in every part of the world, and whose evidence would at once clear the American Church of the suspicion of heresy, while it ignores the chorus of repudiation of the Catholic press of America—a protest so spontaneous and universal that the bishops of Milwaukee raised against the Catholic journalists of the country the cry of Jansenism—it continues, together with its satellites, to cry out from Rome and other European centres that the errors condemned by the Pope actually found a home in America.

Mgr. Péchenard also still holds that American Catholics are guilty, first, of "a certain bending in the matter of dogmatic affirmation;" secondly, of "a separatist tendency with respect to the central ecclesiastical authority," and third, of "a minimizing in the practices of the Christian and especially the religious life."

These are grave accusations; but it will be observed that he does not offer a particle of evidence in support of any of them. He does not name a single book or discourse which could form the basis of the charge that American Catholics are guilty of tampering with the doctrines of the Church. He does not mention a solitary instance which would indicate a "separatist tendency" in the Church in America. It is one of Mgr. Péchenard's fellow countrymen—M. Brunetière, a man whose testimony is unquestioned in two continents—who recently wrote of the American Church: "No other Church adheres with more absolute fidelity to Rome or pays more strict attention to all her observances." The American Episcopate, it is observed, has always avoided extremes; its members have not had to do penance for Gallicanism, nor have they been laughed at for having made an act of faith in Diana Vaughan.

As to the third accusation which Mgr. Péchenard makes, the indictment would be intelligible if only some example had been given of the alleged "minimizing in the practices of Christian life." If Mgr. Péchenard means that there are wanting in America certain devotions which the *Propagateur de Saint Joseph* has been for years offering to a certain class of French minds—devotions which are exposing the Church in France to ridicule—then there is room for this criticism; but if he means that American Catholics detract in any way from the sound Catholic devotions approved by the Church, then his accusation is in every

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respect like the rest. The piety of American Catholics is as far above suspicion as their orthodoxy; although neither their piety nor their orthodoxy dispenses them from protesting before the world against insults put upon their Church.

Mgr. Péchenard assures us that Americanism is dead in France. Indeed, the publication of the Pope's letter was an event of much greater importance for France than for America. The Archbishop of Paris made it the subject of a pastoral which, however, was disfigured by the lamentable assertion that certain Catholics in America substituted the natural for the supernatural virtues. Similarly, the Bishops of Nancy, Annecy and Beauvais used the utmost diligence in circulating the Pontifical letter among their clergy. It is a relief to know that these bishops have succeeded in strangling Americanism in their dioceses. In the United States, except in New York and Milwaukee, the Papal document was received with an unbroken calm which has excited much surprise in Europe. Indeed, the nonchalance with which the condemnation of Americanism was received in America has been the source of some disappointment and misunderstanding among the heresy hunters of Europe. Thus Mgr. Péchenard draws attention to the fact that Archbishop Ireland, during his sojourn last year in France, nowhere discussed Americanism, and intimates that the prelate's silence was an avowal of guilt. It is said, however, that the dignitary whom Mgr. Péchenard attacks is a practical man, and that he has but little admiration for the mythological heroes of the Valhalla who pass their days in hewing down shadows. Those who have read the well-founded statement that at Rome Mgr. Ireland was congratulated by the Sovereign Pontiff and leading Cardinals for having correctly interpreted the Pope's letter, will find a more obvious reason for the disdainful silence of the Archbishop of St. Paul.

In Europe, Americanism was cradled as well as entombed; in America, it was unknown until it was condemned. In Europe, for some time to come, the dead heresy will doubtless be taken as seriously as Gallicanism and Jansenism; in America, it has already become only a memory, except for the curious few who take an interest in myths of the Diana Vaughan type.

J. St. Clair Etheridge.

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A NEGLECTED AMERICAN POET.*

BY MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER.

GEORGE ALFRED TOWNSEND is aware of my desire, after a personal acquaintance with him begun in a newspaper office a full third of a century ago, of making and publishing a review of his work in verse. He has helped me with material which otherwise would scarcely have been accessible to me. And he has made one request, or suggestion, in return, which I am sorry to find impracticable. This is that, whatever I might be moved to say about his literature, I should treat it by itself, and leave on one side the journalism through which he is so much more widely known.

It is impossible to treat his work in verse as quite apart from his work on the press, what he hoped might endure from what he was quite content to see perish after it had served its fugitive turn and boiled the diurnal pot. The two cannot be disjoined. Mr. Townsend's journalism and his literature have rubbed off on each other. Nobody who has followed his newspaper work will be disposed to deny to its author a very high degree of poetical sensibility, and a power of poetical expression often manifested in irrelevant, as well as in merely wasteful, ways. I remember he reported the trial of Tilton against Beecher, in the course of which some old love-letters came to be read, and noted the effect with which the reading fell upon the plaintiff in the suit, who had been one of the parties to the correspondence. According to my distant memory, the notation was something like this: "How like the fog bells on familiar coasts,

*"Poems." By George Alfred Townsend. Washington, D. C.; Rhodes and Ralph, 1870.
"Tales of the Chesapeake." By George Alfred Townsend ("Gath"). New York; American News Company, 1880.
"Bohemian Days." By George Alfred Townsend ("Gath"). H. Campbell & Co., New York, 1880.
"Poetical Addresses of George Alfred Townsend." Published by E. F. Bonaventure & Co., New York, 1881.
"Poems of Men and Events." By George Alfred Townsend. Gapland Edition. E. F. Bonaventure & Co., New York, 1899.

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whence one must steer, though homesick," and so forth. Fancy coming upon such a figure in a newspaper report of a sensational trial in this present year of grace. Thus did poetry rub off on newspaper work. And that the converse has happened, and how and how far it has happened, it seems desirable to show, in the interest of the poetry itself. Mr. Townsend seems to me a genuine poet, who comes as near to being spokesman in verse for his own generation as any one our country has produced, a faithful interpreter of what it is that the general, promiscuous mass of the American people "wishes to say." The work itself seems to me, at its best, to have done something of the same service for the workman's countrymen as Kipling has done for his countrymen of Greater Britain. That, while the one spokesman is world-famous, as he deserves to be, the other should be so extensively unknown in his true capacity that this article may be, to a majority of its readers, perhaps the first announcement that there is such a poet at all—this strikes me as absurd. And, evidently, there must be some other explanation of it than that the American people does not desire to be spoken for, or would not know when it was spoken for, if pains had been taken to bring the fact to its attention.

In the first place, it may or may not be characteristically "journalistic," but it seems to be the fact, that Townsend's poems have never been, properly speaking, "published." A glance over the titles makes this plain. The "Poems" of 1870, containing perhaps the most careful and deliberate of his work in verse, was set forth by a firm of which I never heard until I saw its name on the title-page, and the book itself has been so long out of print that it was only by much rummaging in second-hand book shops that I was able to procure a copy for the present purpose. The other volumes on the list were issued in forms and ways that seemed to label them as ephemera, excepting only the latest. This is a handsome and goodly volume, which constitutes, we find, the author's own poetical "claim." But the title, "Poems of Men and Events," does not define the claim, and gives the notion of something, or of a collection of somethings, rather "light and occasional" than "more serious and deliberate." And then, also, the make-up of the book, the pictures of the author's parents and of his birth-place and of his dwelling-place, and even of the tomb he has built for himself, presuppose a personal interest in the writer on the part of the reader, and seem to amount to an express

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renunciation of the wider public, to warn the "general reader," as it were, that the book is not meant for the like of him.

Besides, printing, in these days, by no means wholly constitutes "publication." That involves printing under such conditions as shall induce or compel "noticing." This is especially essential to any real publication of the poems of a newspaper man. "The small peccary band" are by no means given to hailing with delight the efforts of one of their own number in ways more ambitious than the regular employments of the herd, and there is strong and general disbelief, in strictly "literary" circles, that any literary good can come out of the newspaper Nazareth.

But, granting and allowing for the particular ineptitude which Mr. Townsend has shown for "publication" as distinct from publicity, and for the scepticism of the Brahmans, one has to own that there is much in the work itself to justify this scepticism. "Although the newspapers have been my bulrushes, holding me up," says the author, in his prose preface, by one of those quaint and happy images that occur to him so readily, "Poesy has been Pharaoh's daughter, raising me." But something more than the poetic impulse is needed for the production of poetry, and that is the poetic art. It is the patient clarification and elaboration of the poetic material. What Emerson said about Thoreau, and might often have said about himself, we have often to say about Townsend: "The thyme and marjoram are not yet honey." Even to good prose a higher elaboration is essential than the conditions of the newspaper admit. There is a curious letter from Philip Francis in Burke's "Correspondence," curious, among other things, for the light it may shed upon the "Junius" controversy, though I have never seen it cited in connection with that controversy. The arrogant, schoolmasterly tone which the lesser man takes to the greater would have been the height of insolence viewed in the light of the respective "public forms" of the two writers; but supposing Francis to have been conscious of a great, though anonymous, literary success, it becomes quite intelligible. "Once for all," comments the putative author of "Junius" upon the manuscript of the "Reflections," "once for all, I wish you would let me teach you to write English. To me, who am to read everything you write, it would be a great comfort, and to you no sort of disparagement. Why will you not allow yourself to be persuaded that polish is material to preservation?" The fact that

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Burke has come down to us "sustained by his matter," while the dust settles upon the forgotten controversies which "Junius" fancied would be kept in memory by his style, does not affect the soundness of the proposition. And, if even this degree of "polish" is incompatible with the methods of the newspaper, especially with the methods of so particularly profuse an improvisatore for the newspaper as Mr. Townsend, much more, of course, is the higher degree of it that is "material" to the production of durable verse. The "journalistic" method of work has been described somewhere by Carlyle: "No carpenter ever made a mathematically right angle in the world; but every carpenter knows when it is right enough, and does not botch his job and lose his wages by trying to get it too right." The poetic method is that which has been so memorably described by Tennyson:

> "Old poets, fostered under friendlier skies,
> Old Virgil, who would write ten lines, they say,
> At dawn, and lavish all the golden day
> To make them wealthier in his readers' eyes;
> And you, old popular Horace, you the wise
> Adviser of the nine-years-pondered lay."

For a journalist to undertake literature, most of all for him to undertake poetry, is to undertake to keep these two methods apart, to pass from one to the other. And that is perhaps one of the chief reasons why, with so many young men joining the press, as they used to do in this country more than as they do now, because they felt or fancied in themselves a vocation to literature, so little literature has been produced by journalists, and why the men who have kept and fulfilled their literary aspirations have, for the most part, found it necessary to cut loose from what Mr. Townsend himself calls "the daily domineerer." It requires almost a miracle of intellectual balance and moral firmness to keep clear of the temptation to "make copy" when you set out to make literature. Perhaps the most conspicuously successful example of resistance to this temptation is that of Mr. Andrew Lang, who still, at fifty-odd, seems to keep his journalism and his literature well apart. On his journalistic side, Mr. Lang may be described, as Thackeray described himself under the figure of Pendennis, as a hack naturally fast in pace and brilliant in action; and to pass from even such hack-work as his to the sonnet on the Odyssey is a feat, quite and far away Mr. Lang's high-

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water mark though the sonnet on the Odyssey be. It may, indeed, almost be said that the professional producer of ephemera who desires also to produce something more than ephemera must take to himself the saying of Spinoza, to whom Mr. Townsend has addressed two admiring sonnets, that he "will earn his living with his hands and keep his brains for himself."

It can by no means be said of the latest volume of Townsend's poems that it always observes this distinction. And it is noticeable that the poems in which it is most carefully observed are not the latest; are more apt to be the earliest. In fact, the most careful and elaborate work, that in which the writer's craftsmanship comes uniformly nearest to artistry, is, as has been suggested already, the first volume, the "Poems" of 1870. "Finished to the finger-nail," as is much of the verse in "Tales of the Chesapeake," and at least the "Little Grisette" in the "Bohemian Days," the poet seems to show a progressive carelessness respecting form. It is true that there is a corresponding gain in substance, in the evidence of experience, but this, though it be a compensation, is scarcely to be pleaded as an offset. The iron has entered his soul. Much of this impression is doubtless due to the circumstances in which this latest volume was issued, to the temptation to which the poet has yielded of "making copy." The poetical idea is very seldom absent—that is to say, an interesting idea that of itself suggests embodiment in verse rather than in prose—but the author seems satisfied with a rougher and readier notation of it than would have satisfied him once. There are, among the hundred and twenty-odd "Poems of Men and Events," scarcely a dozen that the reader would be content to miss, but there are scarcely more than that, of the newer work, that could not and should not have been made better. If, on almost every page, there is some vivid felicity of imagery or expression, there are few pages that are not marred by some blemish. Rhythm and even grammar are disregarded by the running pen, until sometimes one would be tempted to say that the author had no ear for the music of verse, if there were not sure presently to occur some line or lines that made that supposition untenable, and threw the reader back upon the impregnable ground of the vicar of Wakefield, that the picture would have been better if the painter had taken more pains. A year's work with a file, how much good it would have done this volume;—if the author, to use his own better image, had patiently clarified his work,

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"And purled away its sediment."

But he seems to show an ineptitude for self-criticism, or an impatience of it, equal to his ineptitude in respect to "publication." That this should be shown in his selection of his own works was to be expected. Poets are almost foredoomed to failure in this, almost sure to be guided by other than critical considerations, largely by a fatuous fondness for their latest born, even though Benjamin should turn out deformed or perverse. The most unfriendly critic of Mr. Swinburne could not have made a less favorable selection than the poet's own. Almost the only satisfactory abridgment of a poet's work by himself is that of Matthew Arnold, and it is open to anybody to say that that is because in this case the critical faculty tends to overpower the creative, and that if the selection had not been so good, the poetry might have been better. In any case, it seems that Townsend's poems stand in need of being edited as well as of being published.

Thus far, I seem to have been dealing in nothing but negatives; but when such a poet as Mr. Townsend, to my sense, is, is in question, it seems needful to clear away the impediments and obstructions which have prevented his more general recognition, if we would reconcile his poetical performance with the appreciation of the American public. Of course, you cannot "prove" poetry. You can only show it. And the lover of poetry has only to glance over the pages of this latest volume, better as, I admit and insist, the poet might have made it, to come upon lines and phrases which only a poet could have written. Here is one, from the lines upon "Gail Hamilton's" book on Blaine:

"This book it also is thy tomb;
Two women watched it, one to doom,
A light of Marys fills its gloom."

And here, from the verses on Gibbon:

"The vast procession of mankind,
Like some great circus seemed,
In his kaleidoscopic mind
Metempsychosed or dreamed."

Or, in a more conventional and academic strain, these concluding lines from a sonnet to John Sherman:

"And seem to talk to Nestor in his calm,
When Homer knew him in the vale of years."

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And here is the last verse from the poem "At Ayr," marred as it is by the rhyme which is rhyme only to the eye. While "letters" undoubtedly rhymes to "debtors," "belles-lettres" as certainly does not, any more than *"la belle alliance"* rhymes to "defiance," as it purports to do in the sonnet on Byron. Of course, I quote the verse, not for the blemish, but in spite of it, and because it both recalls Burns, being even, by design or luck, in the metre of the "Epistle to a Young Friend," and characterizes the American as well as the Scottish bard:

"Great babe! who haled thy Scottish sect
And put its saints thy debtors,
And made thy wayside dialect
A language of belles-lettres!
I do not kneel, but bow thy due,
Ent'ring thy hut's low portal;
The unsevere see Nature through
The joyous troll immortal."

But if these felicities are frequent in the later poems, they are seldom long sustained; and to see what the poet can do and has done upon the continuous high level of artistic workmanship proper and indispensable to lasting verse, one has to revert to the earlier, almost to the earliest. It was at the funeral of James Buchanan in 1868, which I attended as the "representative" of my newspaper, and Mr. Townsend in his capacity of free lance, that he borrowed a buggy and drove me about the sweet and cheerful Pennsylvanian country that surrounds "Wheatlands" and quaint, steep-gabled, pleasant old Lancaster, and recited to me a poem then still, I think, unprinted. When I came into possession the other day of the "Poems" of 1870, and for the first time found the poem in print, after recent study of the alternating amenities and asperities of the later verse, the reader can imagine the mixture of curiosity and trepidation with which I turned to it first, and the delight of finding that it had not shrunk, but lived up to and filled out the vague impression of it that had abided with me for thirty-one years. The reader shall judge for himself whether my admiration was misplaced. The title of the poem is "Paul on the Hellespont":

"From Japhet, when Shem was a yeoman,
And Canaan reviled,
Till to-day, when the world is all Roman,
And Judah a wild,

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By the verge of this sea
There was never a beggar like me.

"The Kings of all Asia beside me
Arise in their might;
Their banners and galleys deride me,
Their camps blaze with light;
I am footsore and tried,
And the ferry is stormy and wide.

"My purse it is rent like my raiment;
My soldiers are two;
For the ferryman, Heaven be his payment!
My tent, Heaven's blue!
But the conquests we seek
Are the glorified lands of the Greek.

"They are wisest and purest of races,
The Lords of the Arts.
Like the statues of gods are their faces;
We aim at their hearts;
All our art is a cross,
And our gospel but sorrow and loss.

"But our tongues they are laden with wonder;
Our pains shall be sweet;
Lord Christ, who has walked on the thunder,
Will buoy our feet;
On the mountain of Mars
We shall plead by our stake with His scars.

"Where the marbles of Phidias whiten
The temples of Jove,
The image they ravished shall brighten
The isles with His love;
All their lore be His shame,
And the Cæsars shall rule in His name.

"To His birthplace shall stroll for His glory
Philosophy hoar;
Architecture shall sculpture His story
And plant, to adore,
In the Parthenon's eaves
The cross that was set between thieves.
"My brethren, perhaps in that vision,
On earth, as in bliss,
The Gentiles may place, for this mission,
Our faces by His!
Oh! I weary to wait.
Lo! a sail. Let us pass o'er the strait."

It is difficult—to me it is impossible—to make a formula that will include the whole body of Mr. Townsend's poetic work. The

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difficulty of the critic is the same as that which the articulator in Dickens encountered in the presence of the unassorted and unassortable osseous remains which he dismissed in despair as "human warious." This is a poetical "various," in which the variety comes too near to miscellany to admit of an easy classification. The title of this article designates the most important, in quantity and perhaps upon the whole in quality, of his poetical performance. He is not only an American poet, but if I had the courage of my perceptions I should not hesitate to change the indefinite to the definite article and to call him the American poet of the generation which grew up with the new national self-consciousness developed by the Civil War. "The competition is not exacting." In the previous generation the aspiration of our singers was that of Keats, to "be numbered with the English poets," and so, in the measure of their success, they were. In spite of the poems on slavery and of the "Hiawatha," Longfellow remained a scholar and gentleman quite after the English pattern. In spite of the poems on slavery, and even of the noble Harvard ode, Lowell, except in his dialect verse, remained the same, or at most a gentleman and scholar of Greater Britain. If one cannot say the same of Whittier, that is because he would have made the impression upon the cultivated and conventional Briton of a "dissenting minister." The Americanism of Emerson is not more clear than the aloofness and ethereality that kept him from being the real spokesman of his people. As for Walt Whitman, who expressed for the poetical methods of all these an equal and lofty contempt, and who proceeded to celebrate "these States" by the modes of cataloguing and ejaculation, it takes less courage now than it would have taken ten, or, still more, twenty years ago, to say that in Walt's own poetical method there was not only a huge deal of laziness and conceit, but also an appreciable element of "foxiness" bordering on fraudulency. As no poet is less consciously imitative than Townsend, it is all the more interesting to note coincidences between him and his predecessors. The long poem, "Palos," in this latest volume, must recall Lowell to many readers. In detail the resemblance is sometimes startling:

> "For no new world Columbus sought;
> Embargoed Ind he hoped to clutch;
> His aptness grasped the spheroid thought
> And knew extremes did somewhere touch.

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"There is a mean amidst extremes,
There is a halfway happiness;
Between the continents he dreams
The lost Atlantis lay to bless."

If this be Lowell, we have to own that it is Lowell at very near his very best. The prefatory poem, again, the "Birthday Thoughts," recalls Emerson in its Orphic curtness, and what reader would hesitate to identify the Sage of Concord in such a passage as this?—

"Flowing from Lionel's brain cells
And from the menstruum of the wells;
Earth's drip from out her cavern chasm
And waste of parent protoplasm,
The saturation of life's plant
And spill of Pluto's adamant."

Let me repeat that I have not the least notion that Lowell was present to Mr. Townsend's consciousness, or even to his "sub-consciousness," when he was writing "Palos," or Emerson when he was writing "Yertes's Spring." I cite the coincidences to show how difficult, from the critical formulist's point of view, this poetical "various" is. For, if we are going to construe resemblances into imitations, conscious or unconscious, what are we to make of still another stop which is drawn out of the poetical organ in "The First Hunger," which I suppose most readers would ascribe, without much hesitation, to Mr. Kipling?—

"The apples are water, dearest,
The dates are only sweet;
There is no flesh in the juice of the grape,
Nor life in the berry we eat!
In the blood of the kid we have slain,
In our new and terrible greed,
Lie the gristle and marrow we need,—
In the pitiful yield of the grain,—
The barley that beards the wild rain,
The corn that the crow contests,
The milk in the white wheat's breasts,—
Behold my red hands as I speak,
And the curse of the sweat on my cheek!"

And yet it is on the one hand in the last degree improbable that Mr. Kipling ever saw these lines, and certain, on the other, that they were published the year he was born. Nevertheless, this last parallel, unlike the others we have been noting, instead of being a mere superficial or casual resemblance, does denote a real

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analogy. That insistent and compelling rhythm which makes the audience, whether of the barrack-room or the music hall or the library or the cloister, "sit up" when the Greater Briton strikes up "'is bloomin' lyre," has sent his verses round the world, while the American has not yet found what can be called a hearing at home. This seizing tunefulness of the younger poet is a gift which the elder does not share in any eminent degree. There is no help for that. But also Kipling shows the constant attention to form, the want of which in Townsend we have been deploring. This difference seems to vindicate the wisdom of the one in breaking loose at the earliest moment from "the daily domineerer," while his continued servitude to it has been visited upon the other. Townsend's own

> "Dear, far convenient Day,
> With bread and heart, and love and work concurring,"

never comes unless it is made to come. But in the qualities of alertness and aliveness and impressibleness, there is by no means so much to choose, while the general attitude of the two poets toward life is very much the same. There is this necessary and national difference, that the audacities of the American are and seem much less like defiances than those of the Briton. There are huge temerities in Townsend, as may be seen in "The Politicians' Christmas, A. D. 1," and in passages of "Palos," though they are directed rather toward theological than toward sexual conventions; but there is seldom evidence of the intention of startling the reader. We call Kipling "American" partly for his temerities, but he is doubtless more conscious of them as temerities than he would be if he were by birth an American. An Englishman, even a Greater Briton, has always the consciousness of his caste, and if he ignores it, he does so in cold blood. The British Brahman who becomes a Bohemian becomes an Adullamite, whereas the luckier American has no caste to abandon or convention to defy. It is his birthright that the assertion of equality, even that familiarity, does not involve disrespect. American nativity is a freemasonry which might almost take for a national motto the old Masonic verse:

> "We meet upon the Level and we part upon the Square."

The nationality, which is in one case an "imperialism," is as intense in the one as in the other. Townsend is as devout a

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believer in the "manifest destiny" of the United States as Kipling in that of the British Empire. In neither case can an excessive scrupulosity as to means go with this outreaching spirit. In "Irving at Burr's Trial," we find Townsend condoning and even pooh-poohing "The Crime of Aaron Burr," in his attempt at Southwestern empire, just as we might expect to find Kipling condoning and even pooh-poohing any little irregularities that Mr. Cecil Rhodes might find it convenient to commit, at the expense of Boers or "natives," in the extension of British South Africa.

This same poem is an example of a large and important part of Mr. Townsend's poetical work. No man has explored more faithfully the annals of the colonies and of the early Republic in search of merely human traits. No wonder that such a quest should lead the searcher into the byways rather than along the highways of history, that his work of this kind in newspaper prose should have been disparaged as "historic gossip." Never mind. It is more to the purpose that he should have attained and become able to impart a more vivid view of our historical "worthies" and unworthies than I, at least, know where else to find, from the strife of Dutch and Swedes for the possession of the Delaware in the seventeenth century down to our own day. All these things, various as is the effectiveness with which they are presented, sometimes with brilliant success, sometimes with flat failure, are presented in the poetic form of "views," in the poetic-journalistic form of kodak-views, and not in the historical form of documented and verifiable "estimates." But how realized and realizable are the best-taken and best-developed of the views, from the little picture of "Far Virginia," in the year of "Blenheim's Victory" and of Mary Washington's birth in "Mary Washington," to the Roentgen-ray psychology of "Ulysses S. Grant, March 4, 1869,"—the soliloquy of the simple, dazed soldier confronting the Presidency and staring into the unknown. Even "Salt River," the legendary destination of defeated candidates for the Presidency, is, not photographed this time, but poetized, and populated with the shades of the defeated and departed, from the victor of Saratoga,

"The oldest exile on the silent tides,"

down to

"Young McClellan, Hamlet of the crowd,"

until it recalls the banks of Acheron and the spectral bodies of

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magnanimous heroes besieging the squalid ferryman. One abatement, it seems, there may be to be made from the trustworthiness of the historical camera, and that by reason of the personality of the operator, as a native of the "Eastern Shore" and inheritor of its prejudices against the Virginian politicians of the young century. But this does not affect the vividness of the presentation, as in this sketch of "Monroe, the Last Virginia Chief":

"He was a politician's flower, raised from a common weed,
Fit for no enterprise in life but following to lead;
To watch the great and imitate, to listen and succeed.
* * * * * * * * * *
"His Western States he never loved marched o'er his mountain's bar,
On roads he vetoed, to his forts made for defensive war:
Free millions flout o'er Africa the faint Monrovian star."

The unquestioning belief in the future of one's country which does not tend to cultivate political scrupulosity, no more tends to cultivate appreciation, or even tolerance, of political criticism or of political critics. Everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, and whoever prophesies evil or points out dangers might better be engaged in helping on "the movement." In "Palos" our poet sings, not very poetically:

"It is the Public Spirit's token
To wish all things constructive well."

And is not that an expression of the general American spirit, and especially of the spirit of the West, which the poet takes to be specifically the American spirit? In the poem on Burr, already cited, he makes Irving prophesy:

"Yon golden West will govern, in its prime,
With mildness known not to old colonies
Ripped from the civil wars and Bible-cracked."

But the most elaborate and the most striking expression of this phase of the American spirit is the poem which ought to be called "Bohemian and Sadducee."

"The Editor and Writer met in Twilight's lonely lane,
Bohemian and Sadducee enforced to meet again;
'When next we walk, successful friend! the darkness will be deep,'
Said the Bohemian; 'Tell me, now, what have you done to keep?'

" 'My self-esteem, my spotless work, my influence austere!
I edited the Higher Thought, the economic seer!
Never to error did I stoop, and when the State must fall,
Let History consult my files; I did predict it all.'
* * * * * * * * * *

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" 'One drop,' the old Bohemian said, 'within its channel strong,
I mingle in the mighty tide and with it move along.
I have no other creed than this, no power of my own:
Flow, beauteous river! Not in thee have ever I thrown a stone!'

"From Twilight lane they parted last, the years were growing dark;
Neither upon the century left more than finger-mark.
'Silentium!' was the epitaph upon the scolding man,
But all the bands of music play past the Bohemian."

If this be immensely characteristic of the poet, is it not as characteristic of the people whose spokesman he aspires to be? The belief, unquestioning and impatient of question, in the United States of America, which rises to the level and so often takes the place of a religious faith, is in the blood of all of us. I know no more eloquent expression than Townsend at his best has given to it, and none so concrete and popular. Nor is his optimism attained by blinking unpleasant facts. Like all the rest of us, he glories in the career of Lincoln as the most typically American thing we have yet done. Everybody remembers Lowell's eulogy in the Harvard Ode. But that sculptural figure was not Lincoln "in his habit as he lived." In "Wild Cat Junction," one of the poems I most miss from this latest volume, Townsend has shown that the ideal Lincoln can be kept in spite of the most unshrinking realism. No Western novelist has given so awful a picture of the crudity and squalor of the prairie environment in which Lincoln was reared. The realism is so unshrinking that I shrink from reproducing it, but I must give the last and not the toughest verse of it to show over what it is that his idealism has triumphed:

"Corn-dodgers dipped in maple juice he ate with thankfulness;
An ox-steak when the preacher came the family to bless;
Rye coffee, with molasses sweet (he never used a fork,
But with his knife, ten months a year, poked down the salted pork).

"Still, like old Bunyan's vision, seen o'er Bedford Prison's gate,
He saw out of this poverty the highways of the State;
The pilgrimage of Christendom from bondage to the light,
And Slavery's pack fall from the back of lands that seek the right.

"Husks filled his belly, but he saw his father's house afar.
A shepherd on a lonely moor, he watched the Master's star.
And not by dainty hands in kid the shackles fell to rust,
But warty, horny, were the palms that made the nation just.

"Still, in his homely Hoosier phrase, he talked the armies on.
The same old puckered face looked out, Columbus-like, for dawn.
We waited for some courtly Christ to draw the sting from death,
And, lo, the promised man arose in lowly Nazareth!"

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It seems to me that this portrait is worthier of the national Pantheon than any ideal figure that has been made, or that is likely to be made. And years later, the artist, in a poem, "Commander Lincoln," read before the Society of the Army of the Potomac, took up the theme again, and in a more oratorical strain pointed the moral for Lincoln's country of Lincoln's career:

"Deep the wells of humble childhood, cool the springs beside the hut,
Millions more as poor as Lincoln see the door he has not shut.
Not till wealth has made its canker every poor white's cabin through
Shall the Great Republic wither, or the infidel subdue!

"Stand around your great commander, lay aside your little fears!
Every Lincoln carries freedom's car along a hundred years.
And when next the call for soldiers rolls along the golden belt,
Look to see a mightier column rise and march, prevail and melt!"

Is not that what the American people "wish to say"? Has any one else said it for them more impressively or more memorably? Is not the author of these lines as near to being a national spokesman in verse as any in this generation of his countrymen? Whether or not the reader agrees that this thesis is made out by the citations that have been given, I do not see how the attentive and considerate reader can fail to agree that Townsend's verse deserves more attention and consideration than it has received; and to diffuse that belief as widely as possible is the object of these citations and remarks. I can quite imagine such a reader demurring that the adjective of my title has been better made out than the substantive, the Americanism of the poet than his specifically poetical power, and even adding, if he be of a sarcastic turn, that fine lines do not make fine poems, and that the most eloquent stump speeches in verse do not make a great poet. The epithet is not mine, and in any case is not of a scientific exactness. What I claim for Mr. Townsend is that he is an interesting and remarkable poet. But it is also true that he has shown the capacity to deal with themes more deeply and broadly human than those of politics or even of patriotism, and to give them artistic expression. Not to speak of earlier work, "Her First Glasses" and "In Rama," in the present volume, seem to me sufficiently to show it. The former is almost too intimate to be quoted here. It will recall Cowper's "My Mary" to reading readers, but it seems to me of an even more poignant pathos, which even the quaint and homely adverbial use of "some" does not seem to blunt, seems al-

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most to sharpen. "In Rama" is a threnody which gives a personal expression to a sentiment as general as humanity:

"A little face there was,
When all her pains were done,
Beside that face I loved:
They said it was a son.
A son to me—how strange—
Who never was a man;
But lived, from change to change,
A boy, as I began."

Our poet's best work, most feeling and most artistic, in that description suffused with sentiment which is the staple of the poetry of the English language in the nineteenth century, is doubtless that which he has done in the poems descriptive and reminiscent of the region of his birth and boyhood, the "Eastern Shore." I wish he had retained the pretty "Chester River":

"Wise is the wild duck winging straight to thee,
River of summer! from the cold Arctic sea,
Coming, like his fathers for centuries, to seek
The sweet, salt pastures of the far Chesapeake."

But he has retained the "Land of Pocomoke" and "Old St. Mary's," and these furnish a test of his quality in this kind. Here are two verses from the former:

"Is it Snow Hill that greets me back
To this old loamy cul-de-sac?
Spread on the level river shore,
Beneath the bending willow trees
And speckled trunks of sycamore,
All moist with airs of rival seas?
Are these old men who gravely bow,
As if a stranger all awoke,
The same who heard my parents' vow—
Ah, well! in simpler days than now—
To love and serve by Pocomoke?

* * * * * * * *

"When we have raged our little part,
And weary out of strife and art,
Oh! could we bring to these still shores
The peace they have who harbor here,
And rest upon our echoing oars,
And float adown this tranquil sphere,
Then might yon stars shine down on me,
With all the hope those lovers spoke,
Who walked these tranquil streets I see
And thought God's love nowhere so free,
Nor life so good, as Pocomoke."

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The poem on "Old St. Mary's," the colonial capital of Maryland, is in the same strain of tender reminiscence. But I must be allowed to quote a passage from it, because it seems to me, as a matter of artistic workmanship, in its musical expression of melancholy, quite the summit of its author's attainment:

"Lo! all composed, the soft horizons lie
Afloat upon the blueness of their coves,
And sometimes in the mirage does the sky
Seem to continue the dependent groves,
And draw in the canoe that careless roves
Among the stars repeated round the bow.
Far off the larger sails go down the world,
For nothing worldly sees St. Mary's now;
The ancient windmills all their sails have furled,
The standards of the Lords of Baltimore,
And they, the Lords, have passed to their repose;
And nothing sounds upon the pebbly shore
Except thy hidden bell, Saint Inigo's."

But if this elegiac, this idyllic strain, is heard too rarely here, the elegies and the idylls are themselves but episodes in this hurly-burly of "Men and Events." Tyrtæus sometimes chose the Dorian mood,

"The Dorian mood,
Of flutes and soft recorders;"

but the Dorian mood is not Tyrtæan. Our journalistic *"doyen"* is also a journalistic Tyrtæus. The avid curiosity, the vivid glances of insight, the ready, so often too ready, phrase that attests the curiosity and reproduces the vision seen by flashlight, the invincible optimism, the "youthful, vehement, exultant and progressive nationality," these are the dominant strains in this pell-mell of poetic work. Our *"doyen,"* by rights and precedents a melancholy and discouraged "sage," appears in these pages as the bugler boy at the head of the column. The twinkling guidon is sometimes hidden in the whiffs of dust. The bugle notes are often jangled in the jolting of the trot, but audible above the "drums and tramplings" of the procession, always giving out, in blithe and cheery tones, the marching orders of the day. Doubtless it is "journalistic," but I think it is fine, and I am sure it is American.

MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER.

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"THE SHADOWY WATERS."

BY W. B. YEATS.

PERSONS.

FORGAEL. AIBRIC.
DECTORA. SAILORS.

THE SCENE.

The deck of a galley in the heroic age. The tiller, which comes through the bulwark, is to the left hand. One looks along the deck toward the high forecastle, which is partly hidden by a great square sail. The sail is drawn in toward the stern at the left side; and is high enough above the deck at the right side to show a little of the deck beyond and of the forecastle. Three rows of hounds, the first dark, the second red and then white with red ears make a conventional pattern upon the sail. The sea is hidden in mist, and there is no light except where the moon makes a vague brightness in the mist.

Forgael is sleeping upon skins a few yards forward of the tiller. He has a silver lily worked upon the breast of his garment. A small harp lies beside him. Aibric and two sailors stand about the tiller. One of the sailors is steering.

THE HELMSMAN.

His face has never gladdened since he came
Out of that island where the fool o' the wood
Played on his harp.

THE OTHER SAILOR.

And I would be as sad
But that the wind changed; for I followed him
And heard the music in the wind, and saw
A red hound running from a silver arrow.
I drew my sword to fling it in a pool;
I have forgotten wherefore.

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THE HELMSMAN.

The red hound
Was Forgael's courage that the music killed.

THE OTHER SAILOR.

How many moons have died from the full moon
When something, half a lamb and half a goat,
Walked on the waters and bid Forgael seek
His heart's desire where the world dwindles out?

THE HELMSMAN.

Nine moons.

THE OTHER SAILOR.

And from the harping of the fool?

THE HELMSMAN.

Three moons.

THE OTHER SAILOR.

It were best to kill him, and choose out
Another leader, and turn home again.

THE HELMSMAN.

I had killed him long ago, but that the fool
Gave him his harp.

THE OTHER SAILOR.

Now that he is asleep,
He cannot wake the god that hides in it.

(The two sailors go nearer to Forgael and half draw their swords.)

AIBRIC.

And whom will you make leader? Who will make
A path among these waves and weigh the wind?
Not I, nor Maine there, nor Duach's son.
Be patient yet awhile; for this ninth moon,
Being the moon of birth, may end our doubt.

(Forgael rises. The two sailors hurry past him, and disappear beyond the sail. Forgael takes the tiller.)

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FORGAEL.

So these would have killed Forgael while asleep
Because a god has made him wise with dreams;
And you, my Aibric, who have been a King
And spoken in the Council, and heard tales
That druids write on yew and apple wood,
Are doubtful like these pullers of the oar!

AIBRIC.

Although I doubt your wisdom, do not doubt
The greatness of my love. Did I not rule
A fruitful land under the Aibhlin hills?
And when you came to scorn our little wars
And praise a war among the endless seas,
Did I not follow with a score of ships?
And now they are all gone, I follow still.

FORGAEL.

But would turn home again.

AIBRIC.

No man had doubts
When we rowed north, singing above the oars,
And harried Alban towns, and overthrew
The women slingers on the narrow bridge,
And passed the Northern Hebrides, and took
Armlets of gold or shields with golden nails
From hilly Lochlann; but our sail has passed
Even the wandering islands of the gods,
And hears the roar of the streams where druids say
Time and the world and all things dwindle out.

FORGAEL.

Do you remember, Aibric, how you bore
A captive woman from the narrow bridge,
And, though you loved her, gave her up to me?

AIBRIC.

I thought she loved you, and I thought her love
Would overcome your sorrow and your dreams.
But you grew weary of her.

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FORGAEL.

When I hold
A woman in my arms, she sinks away
As though the waters had flowed up between;
And yet, there is a love that the gods give,
When Ængus and his Edaine wake from sleep
And gaze on one another through our eyes,
And turn brief longing and deceiving hope
And bodily tenderness to the soft fire
That shall burn time when times have ebbed away.
The fool foretold me I would find this love
Among those streams, or on their cloudy edge.

AIBRIC.

No man or woman has loved otherwise
Than in brief longing and deceiving hope
And bodily tenderness; and he who longs
For happier love but finds unhappiness,
And falls among the dreams the drowsy gods
Breathe on the burnished mirror of the world
And then smooth out with ivory hands and sigh.
Forgael, seek out content, where other men
Have found delight, in the resounding oars,
In day out-living battle, on the breast
Of some mild woman, or in children's ways.

FORGAEL.

The fool that came out of the wintry wood
Taught me wise music, and gave me this old harp;
And were all dreams, it would not weigh in the hand.

AIBRIC.

It was a fool that gave it, and may be
Out of mere wantonness to lure a sail
Among the waters that no pilot knows.

FORGAEL.

I have good pilots, Aibric; when men die
They are changed and as gray birds fly out to sea,
And I have heard them call from wind to wind
How all that die are borne about the world

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In the cold streams, and wake to their desire,
It may be, before the winds of birth have waked;
Upon clear nights they leave the upper air
And fly among the foam.

A SAILOR.

(Running from the forecastle.)

Thrust down the helm,
For I have seen a ship hid in the fog.
Look! there she lies under a flapping sail.

FORGAEL.

(To Aibric.)

Give me the helm: call hither those who lie
Upon the rowers' benches underneath,
And bid them hide in shadow of the sail,
Or crowd behind the bulwark, that we seem
A trading galley in her helmsman's eyes.

(Aibric goes toward the forecastle.)

It may be now that I can go my way
And no man kill me; for some wind has blown
A galley from the Lochlann seas; her flag
Is folding and unfolding, and in its folds
Her raven flutters. Rob him of his food
Or be his food, I follow the gray wings,
And need no more of life till the white wings
Of Ængus' birds gleam in their apple boughs.

(Two sailors come creeping along the right bulwark.)

THE FOREMOST OF THE TWO SAILORS.

It were better to pass by, because the gods
Make galleys out of wind that change to wind
When one has leapt on board.

THE HINDERMOST OF THE TWO SAILORS.

No, for I have hope
Forgael may find his heart's desire on board
And turn his galley about and bring me home.

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(Two more sailors come creeping along the right bulwark.)

THE FOREMOST OF THE TWO SAILORS.

I swore but yesterday if the Red God
Would end this peaceful life that rots the bones,
None should escape my sword: I would send all
To mind his cows and swine by the Red Lake.

THE HINDERMOST OF THE TWO SAILORS.

He has heard me and not you. Nine days ago
I promised him that none should escape my sword
But women and jugglers and players on the harp.

THE FOREMOST OF THE TWO SAILORS.

He has heard me because I promised all.

(There are sailors now along the whole bulwark and sailors in the shadow of the sail.)

FORGAEL.

Bend lower lest your battle axes glimmer.
The tide narrows between, and one old man
Nods by the helm, and nearer to the sail
A woman lies among embroideries.
Near by, but in the shadow of the sail,
A boy and girl hold one another's hands;
Their hair mingles on some stringed instrument,
And a string murmurs as though Time were dead
Or a god hid them under the shadow of wings.
When you are aboard the Lochlann galley, lash
Bulwark to bulwark, and square her sail by ours.
Now rush upon her and find out what prey
Best pleases you.

(The sailors climb over the bulwarks beyond the sail. Forgael is left alone.)

A VOICE ON THE OTHER SHIP.

Armed men have come upon us.

ANOTHER VOICE.

Wake all below.

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A MORE DISTANT VOICE.

Why have you broken our sleep?

THE FIRST VOICE.

Armed men have come upon us. O! I am slain.

(There is a sound of fighting.)

FORGAEL.

A gray bird has flown by. He has flown upward.
He hovers above the mast and waits his kind;
When all gather they will fly upon their way.
I shall find out if I have lost the way
Among these misty waters. Two! Now four!
Now four together! I shall hear their words
If I go nearer to the windward side,
For there are sudden voices in my ears.

(He goes to the right bulwark.)

Two hover there together, and one says,
"How light we are now we are changed to birds!"
And the other answers, "Maybe we shall find
Our hearts' desire now that we are so light."
And then one asks another how he died,
And says, "A sword blade pierced me in my sleep."
And now they all wheel suddenly and fly
To the other side and higher in the air.

(He crosses over to the other bulwark.)

They are still waiting; and a laggard comes,
And crying, "I have fled to my beloved
In the waste air. I will wander by his side
Among the windy meadows of the dawn,"
They have flown away together. We are nearly
A quarter of the heavens from our right way.

(He goes to the helm. The sailors return with Dectora, who is crowned and has a rose embroidered upon the breast of her garment.)

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FORGAEL.

I linger while the birds are on the wing,
Because the unambitious that hate the gods
Believe that gold and women taken in war
Are better than the woods where no love fades
From its first sighs and laughter before the sleep,
Whose shadow is the sleep that comes with love,
Ends Time and Change.

A SAILOR.

We bring you this great queen.
I spared her handmaid, too; but half way hither
She caught this blade out of my belt and died.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

She offers great rewards if we turn east
And bring her to her kingdom and her people.

FORGAEL.

My way is west. She seems both young and shapely.
Give her to Aibric, if he will. I wait
For an immortal woman as I think.

(He goes nearer to Dectora.)

THE SAILOR WHO HAD FIRST SPOKEN.

I left her living, thinking that I had found
Your heart's desire and the end of all our trouble;
But now I will kill her.

FORGAEL.

(Motions him away and looks for a long time at Dectora.)

All comes to an end;
The harvest's in; the granary doors are shut;
And I am old as Time, because I know
All that Time knows. Speak to me, Queen. O speak!
I wait your words as the dead wait the living.

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DECTORA.

If you would serve me, as your word and voice
Have bid me hope, sail to the Lochlann shore
And bring me to my people. I promised these
So much of wealth as may befit their rank;
I promise you a hundred drinking bowls,
A hundred shields of brass, a hundred swords,
A hundred oxen and a hundred sheep,
And more, if you will war against the Danes
In Southern Lochlann.

FORGAEL.

I would not obey
Any that lived, and I have brought my galley
Where I had heard no feet but the gods' came.
Have the winds blown you among these empty waters?

DECTORA.

I have come hither because I hoped to come
Where gods are brooding in a mountainous place
That murmurs with holy woods, and win their help
To conquer among the countries of the north.
I have found nothing but these empty waters.
I have turned homewards.

FORGAEL.

In the eyes o' the gods,
War laden galleys, and armies on white roads,
And unforgotten names, and the cold stars
That have built all are dust on a moth's wing.
These are their lures, but they have set their hearts
On tears and laughter; they have lured you hither
And lured me hither that you might be my love.
Ængus looks on you when I look: he waits
Till his Edaine, no more a silver fly
Among the winds, looks under your pale eyelids.

DECTORA.

(To the sailors.)

Is it your will that I, who am a queen

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And have been wooed by the twelve kings of the earth,
Become a stranger's leman; and that you,
Who might have flocks and herds and many thralls,
Be pullers of the oar until you die?

A SAILOR.

She bids us follow her.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

I have grown weary
Of following Forgael's dream from wind to wind.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

Give me a hundred sheep.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

Give me a house
Well sheltered from the winds, and fruitful fields,
And a strong galley.

DECTORA.

I give you all as much.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

And will you swear never to be avenged
For those among your people that are dead?

DECTORA.

I swear it, though I gladly would lie down
With some you have killed and die; for when I left
My foster mother's garden in the south
I ceased to be a woman, being a queen.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

And will you swear it by the sun and moon?

DECTORA.

I swear it.

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ANOTHER SAILOR.

Let every man draw out his sword
And gather round him, that no god may know
The hand that wounds.

(Forgael has taken the harp in his hands and is leaning against the bulwark. The sailors draw their swords, and come toward him. Forgael plays slowly and faintly.)

A SAILOR.

A white bird beats his wings
Against my face and eyes.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

Mine too are beaten.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

I am half blinded.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

I am half blinded, too.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

I am afraid of the harp.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

O! Wings on wings!

DECTORA.

He has thrown a druid dream upon the air.
Strike quickly; it will fade out when you strike.

A SAILOR.

I am afraid of his low laughing harp.

(Forgael changes the air.)

DECTORA.

(Looking over the bulwark in a half dream.)

I shall be home now in a little while,
Hearing the harpers play, the pine wood crackle,
The handmaids laugh and whisper in the door.

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A SAILOR.

Who said we had a skin of yellow ale?

ANOTHER SAILOR.

I said the ale was brown.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

(Who has gone into the other ship.)

I have found the ale,
I had thrown it down behind this coil of rope.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

Forgael can die to-morrow. Come to the ale.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

Come to the ale: for he can die to-morrow.

(They go on to the other ship.)

AIBRIC.

(Who lingers looking at Dectora.)

She will say something in a little while,
And I shall laugh with joy.

A VOICE ON THE OTHER SHIP.

Come hither, Aibric,
And tell me a love story while I drink.

AIBRIC.

Ah, well, they are calling me—they are calling me.

(He goes forward and into the other ship.)

FORGAEL.

How little and reedy a sound awakes a god
To cry his folding cry.

(He changes the tune again; Dectora leans against the bulwark as if very sleepy and gradually sinks down on the deck.)

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DECTORA.

(As if in sleep.)

There is some man
That I would bid my people put to death.
I think he lives in Lochlann. No, not there;
Among the Hebrides.

FORGAEL.

When she awakens,
The years that have gone over her from the hour
When she dreamed first of love, shall flicker out
And leave her dreaming. When I looked on her,
I grew as old as Time, and she grows young
As the ageless birds of Ængus, or the birds
The white fool makes at morning out of foam;
For love is a-weaving when a woman's heart
Grows young and a man's heart grows old in a twinkling.

(He changes the air.)

Her eyelids tremble and the white foam fades;
The stars would hurl their crowns among the foam
Were they but lifted up.

DECTORA.

(Slowly waking.)

The red hound is fled.
Why did you say that I have followed him
For these nine years? O! Arrow upon arrow!
My eyes are troubled by the silver arrows;
Ah, they have pierced his heart!

(She wakes.)

I have slept long,
I fought twelve battles dressed in golden armor.
I have forgot it all. How soon dreams fade!
I will drink out of the stream. The stream is gone
Before I dropped asleep, a kingfisher
Shook the pale apple blossom over it;
And now the waves are crying in my ears,
And a cold wind is blowing in my hair.

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FORGAEL.

(Going over to her.)

A hound that had lain hid in the red rushes
Breathed out a druid vapor, and crumbled away
The grass and the blue shadow on the stream
And the pale blossom; but I woke instead
The winds and waters to be your home forever;
And overturned the demon with a sound
I had woven of the sleep that is in pools
Among great trees, and in the wings of owls,
And under lovers' eyelids.

(He stoops and holds the harp toward her.)

Bend your head
And lean your lips devoutly to this harp,
For he who gave it called it Ængus' harp
And said it was mightier than the sun and moon,
Or than the shivering casting net of the stars.

(She takes the harp in her hands and kisses it.)

DECTORA.

O, Ængus of the herds, watch over me.
I sat beside my foster mother, and now
I am caught in woven nets of enchantment. Look!
I have wet this braid of hair with tears while asleep.

FORGAEL.

(Standing upright beside her.)

He watches over none but faithful lovers.
Edaine came out of Midher hill, and lay
Beside young Ængus in his tower of glass,
Where time is drowned in odor-laden winds
And druid moons, and murmuring of boughs,
And sleepy boughs, and boughs where apples made
Of opal and ruby and pale chrysolite
Awake unsleeping fires; and wove seven strings,
Sweet with all music, out of his long hair,
Because her hands had been made wild by love;

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And when one changed her to a silver fly,
He made a harp with druid apple-wood
That she among her winds might know he wept;
And from that hour, he has watched over none
But faithful lovers.

DECTORA.

(Half rising.)

Whither have you come,
Beseeching hands and more beseeching eyes?
I have been waiting you. A moment since
My foster mother sang in an old rhyme
That my true love would come in a ship of pearl
Under a silken sail and silver yard,
And bring me where the children of Ængus wind
In happy dances, under a windy moon;
But these waste waters and wind-beaten sails
Are wiser witchcraft, for our peace awakes
In one another's arms.

(He has taken her in his arms.)

FORGAEL.

Ængus has seen
His well-beloved through a mortal's eyes;
And she, no longer blown among the winds,
Is laughing through a mortal's eyes.

DECTORA.

(Peering out over the waters.)

O look!
A red-eared hound follows a hornless deer.
There! There! They have gone quickly, for already
The cloudy waters and the glimmering winds
Have covered them.

FORGAEL.

Where did they vanish away?

DECTORA.

Where the moon makes a cloudy light in the mist.

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FORGAEL.

(Going to the tiller.)

The pale hound and the deer wander forever
Among the winds and waters; and when they pass
The mountain of the gods, the unappeasable gods
Cover their faces with their hair and weep.
They lure us to the streams where the world ends.

DECTORA.

All dies among those streams.

FORGAEL.

The fool has made
These messengers to lure men to his peace,
Where true love wanders among the holy woods.

DECTORA.

What were true love among the rush of his streams?
The gods weave nets, and take us in their nets,
And none knows wherefore; but the heart's desire
Is this poor body that reddens and grows pale.

(She goes toward him.)

FORGAEL.

The fool, who has made the wisdom that men write
Upon thin boards of yew and apple-wood,
And all that prophesying images
Made of dim gold rave out in secret tombs,
Has told me that the undying send their eagles
To snatch alive out of the streams all lovers
That have gone thither to look for the loud streams,
Folding their hearts' desire to their glad hearts.

DECTORA.

The love I know is hidden in these hands
That I would mix with yours, and in this hair
That I would shed like twilight over you.

FORGAEL.

The love of all under the light of the sun
Is but brief longing, and deceiving hope,

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And bodily tenderness; but love is made
Imperishable fire under the boughs
Of chrysoberyl and beryl and chrysolite
And chrysoprase and ruby and sardonyx.

DECTORA.

Where are these boughs? Where are the holy woods
That can change love to imperishable fire?
O! I would break this net the gods have woven
Of voices and of dreams. O heart, be still!
O why is love so crazy that it longs
To drown in its own image?

FORGAEL.

Even that sleep
That comes with love, comes murmuring of an hour
When earth and heaven have been folded up;
And languors that awake in mingling hands
And mingling hair fall from the fiery boughs,
To lead us to the streams where the world ends.

(Aibric and some of the sailors come from the other ship over the bulwark beyond the sail, and gather in the dimness beyond the sail.)

AIBRIC.

Give me your swords.

A SAILOR.

They are always quarrelling.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

It is the brown ale does it.

AIBRIC.

Give me your swords.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

We will not quarrel, now that all is well
And we go home.

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ANOTHER SAILOR.

Come, Aibric; end your tale
Of golden armed Aolan and the queen
That lives among the woods of the dark hounds.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

And tell how Mananan sacked Murias
Under the waves, and took a thousand women
When the dark hounds were loosed.

ANOTHER SAILOR.

Come to the ale.

(They go into the other ship.)

DECTORA.

(Going toward the sail.)

I have begun remembering my dreams.
I have commanded men in dreams. Beloved,
We will go call these sailors, and escape
The nets the gods have woven and our own hearts,
And, hurrying homeward, fall upon some land
And rule together under a canopy.

FORGAEL.

All that know love among the winds of the world
Have found it like the froth upon the ale.

DECTORA.

We will find out valleys and woods and meadows
To wander in; you have loved many women,
It may be, and have grown weary of love.
But I am new to love.

FORGAEL.

Go among these
That have known love among the winds of the world
And tell its story over their brown ale.

DECTORA.

(Going a little nearer to the sail.)

Love was not made for darkness and the winds
That blow when heaven and earth are withering,

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For love is kind and happy. O come with me!
Look on this body and this heavy hair;
A stream has told me they are beautiful.
The gods hate happiness and weave their nets
Out of their hatred.

FORGAEL.

My beloved, farewell.
Seek Aibric on the Lochlann galley, and tell him
That Forgael has followed the gray birds alone,
And bid him to your country.

DECTORA.

I should wander
Amid the darkness, now that all my stars
Have fallen and my sun and moon gone out.

FORGAEL.

I think that there is love in Aibric's eyes;
I know he will obey you; and if your eyes
Should look upon his eyes with love unto the end,
That would be happiest, for there is none
So worthy among men.

DECTORA.

I follow you,
Whether among the cold winds of the dead,
Or among winds that move in the meadows and woods.
I have cut the cords that held this galley to ours.
She is already fading, as though the gods
Had woven her of wind.

(She throws herself at Forgael's feet.)

Life withers out.
I hide you with my hair, that we may gaze
Upon this world no longer.

(The harp begins to murmur of itself.)

FORGAEL.

The harp cries out.
It has begun to cry out to the eagles.

THE END.

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THE FUTURE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

BY CHARLES SYDNEY CLARK.

AMONG the most peculiar products of our system of government are the military forces which, while locally known as State Troops, National Guard, Volunteer Militia, Militia, and Volunteer Guard, are generally known, as a whole, as the "National Guard." This mass of forces is confessedly not a part of the Regular Army, nor, although it is composed wholly of volunteers, is it a Volunteer Army. Nor is it the United States "Militia" of the Constitution and Revised Statutes, for it is not organized, officered, drilled or equipped in the manner provided by statute; it is not a United States force; and never has been, and never will be, called into the service of the United States as "Militia." Within two years, the legal advisers of the Government have advised the President that his authority to call out the National Guard for service, as "Militia," must be questioned, and that it would be prudent for him to obtain authority from Congress to organize a Volunteer Army.

What, then, is the status of the National Guard? It is a *new* force, the existence of which was never contemplated by the framers of the Constitution, or the Congress which enacted the "Militia" law, but which is, nevertheless, the "well-organized militia" which Washington contemplated. The assumption that the Guard is a new force at once removes the difficulties in the way of "reorganizing the Militia," with which Presidents, Committees of Congress, statesmen and lawyers have labored for a century. For, if it be a new force, it is not impossible for Congress to create an entirely new Volunteer Army which shall be the Guard reorganized and modified, to provide for the support thereof, and to make laws for its government and regulation.

There is not only law but ample precedent for such action. The

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States themselves have, from time to time, disbanded independent military organizations or reorganized them as companies and battalions of the State Troops. And these independent organizations stood in precisely the same relation to the States as that in which the Guard stands to the nation. From time to time, also, bills have been introduced into Congress providing for the establishment of new naval and military forces. Such were the Volunteer Acts of 1861 and 1898, the United States Naval Auxiliary Naval Force Bill of 1898, all of which became laws, and the Cutting, Hawley, Frye and other so-called "Militia" bills.

Congress having clearly a right to organize such a new military force, and there being at hand to serve as the nucleus of that force an existing army of citizen-soldiers consisting of nearly 125,000 officers and men, shall we not avail ourselves of this splendid raw material without further fruitless discussion as to whether it is or is not "Militia?" The answer of both professional and citizen soldiers is that we should, but not until the faults of the National Guard are eradicated. These faults are known, and there is little dispute as to the causes from which flow the result that the Guard is not as efficient as it should be.

These causes may be briefly stated as follows: That the National Guard is not national in fact as well as in name; that it is not provided with means sufficient for its support in a state of efficiency; that it depends for support chiefly upon the forced or voluntary contributions of its members; that enlisted men are allowed by law a voice and vote in the election of officers and in civil organizations which control the military organizations; that service is rendered onerous and expensive to men of small means and officers are required, to the prejudice of good order and discipline, to solicit and enforce payment of dues, fines and assessments, and thus render themselves obnoxious to the men they command; that the force, as a whole, is never properly provided with equipment, tentage, ammunition, military stores or horses; that no facilities for theoretical instruction are provided by the Government; that the lack of guarantee that they will not be required to serve in foreign countries deters men having business interests requiring personal attention, or having dependent relatives, from enlisting; that a lack of diversity in drills, and of field exercises and manœuvres, causes enlisted men to become weary of doing duty; that inspections are not made in a proper

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manner and are not thorough; that men are accepted as recruits who are not physically able to bear the hardships of battle and campaign; that Light Artillery has not been able to secure proper ordnance, mounts, draught horses or practice, and that no Heavy Artillery has been organized except in Massachusetts and New York; that the appointment on Governors' Staffs of men distinguished only for social or political prominence has committed the highly important duties of the "General Staff" to men unacquainted with those duties; that in many States officers have been commissioned without examination; that officers and non-commissioned officers of the Army have not been detailed to specific National Guard organizations as instructors; and that the Guard as a whole has been almost entirely without the benefit of the direction, instruction or encouragement of the Regular Army of the United States.

This review of the causes for the inefficiency of the Guard enables us at once to suggest the reformatory measures which should be adopted.

I. The National Guard of the several States and Territories should be re-established and reorganized by Congress as a national force under the name and style of the "National Volunteer Reserve;" and its direction, control and maintenance should be assumed by the National Government.

There can be little doubt as to the entire feasibility of such action. In the case of the Auxiliary Naval Force, action was taken in 1898 very similar to that which is here proposed in connection with the National Guard. It was directed that, with the consent of the Governor and Legislature of a State, the naval forces of that State might be incorporated with and be enlisted in the newly organized body. In like manner, the National Guard of any State might be incorporated with and enlisted in the National Volunteer Reserve.

The effect of such a law would no doubt be the same as in States where similar State laws have been enacted. Organizations worth retention would soon be found in the Volunteer Reserve, while those organized with no expectation of performing service for the State or nation would soon disappear. That such a law is desired and that its passage would be approved by a vast majority of the citizens cannot be doubted.

But it is quite true that such a reorganization as that proposed

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could not be effected without considerable difficulty. It is obvious that if the control is transferred to the nation the Government must own the barracks or military posts in which the new national force is quartered, and there would seem to be almost insuperable difficulties in the way of a transfer of the military property of States, counties, municipalities and individual organizations to the Government. Moreover, to separate the National Guard from its military homes would be to destroy it, and the nation, if it acquires the Guard, must acquire the armories.

The cost of the property it would be necessary to acquire would be great, but no greater than a nation of 77,000,000 people can afford. Were the price of this property $50,000,000, the interest charges would not exceed in all probability $1,500,000 *per annum.* An equally large sum is now expended annually by the States in so-called "general military appropriations." And it is almost impossible to believe that, were the States relieved from expending this large amount, they would object to the imposition of a special tax calling for the payment of two cents *per capita,* or less, a year. A tax of five cents *per capita* on the population of the United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Philippines would produce an annual revenue of $4,150,000, sufficient to pay interest upon an investment of $50,000,000, and furnish $2,650,000 to be applied for the support of a Volunteer force.

Another possible difficulty might be that the Guard itself might object to reorganization. This must be seriously doubted. Since the beginning of the movement which resulted in the "New National Guard," it has been the firm belief, both of the members and of citizens, that the Guard was organized and maintained to furnish the nation with a volunteer reserve force. Public opinion, therefore, demanded in 1898 that the Guard should instantly enter the volunteer service, and the Guard complied without hesitation. And it has now come to pass that a record of "no United States service" causes a Guard regiment to be regarded with distrust if not dislike.

That conditions would be imposed by the Guard, as conditions precedent to their re-enlistment in a new force, must be expected, and it is likely that some of these conditions would be formulated as follows:

(1.) That each State should be made a separate Military District, commanded by an officer of the Volunteer Reserve from that

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district, appointed by the Secretary of War; that each geographical section of the country should be an Army Corps District, and that each Army Corps District should be commanded by a general officer of the Army; that units should be organized as provided for in the statutes for the Army, but with additional Battalion Staff officers, musicians and Hospital Corps men; that increase of strength should be effected by recruiting, not by consolidation of existing organizations; and that present organizations should not be disbanded unless notably inefficient, the present designation of organizations being retained as far as possible.

(2.) That line officers should retain their present rank until discharge, resignation or death, and that their successors should be promoted under the same system of lineal promotion prescribed for the Army; but that no officer should be promoted until he had passed an examination before a Board of Examination, or produced evidence that he had attended the sessions of a military school of instruction for a prescribed period. Line officers of the lowest grade, but no other officers, should be elected. No person should be eligible to election who has not served at least three years in the National Guard or Volunteer Reserve, or one year in the Army or Volunteer Army, in time of war.

II. Congress should provide so liberally for the support of the National Volunteer Reserve that the civil organizations of the National Guard could be abolished, and that all officers and men should receive pay for services performed by them, in peace as well as during active service.

General Schofield has said that in presenting any plan for the modification of the National Guard the first and indispensable step is to "dispel the illusion that it can be done cheaply." Competent and careful officers have estimated that the smallest sum for which an effective Volunteer Reservist can be armed, equipped, drilled, disciplined and maintained for five years is $500. But the average sum per man allowed in recent years by State and National Government was $24, or a total in five years of $120. The Guard could not have existed upon such a meagre appropriation, had it not long ago devised a plan whereby it was enabled to force its officers and men to make up the deficiency, both in appropriations for purely military expenses and for other expenses which had to be met in order to attain popularity.

The system of organizing civil associations, the membership

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of which was identical with that of the military company or regiment, was devised. These civil organizations levied dues and fines and occasional assessments. From these dues, fines and assessments deficiencies were made good. State laws in many places make payment of dues and fines compulsory. This system, while effective, is unmilitary and destructive of discipline. It places enlisted men on an absolute equality with officers in civil meetings, allows them to dictate the policy of the company, elect disbursing officers, control expenditure of funds and in meetings freely criticise the acts of superiors; it obliges officers to see that the revenue of the company is collected, and makes them debt-collectors, compelled to sacrifice all dignity in demanding and enforcing payment; it compels officers and men to pay a tax and, in case men do not pay, compels officers to make up the deficiency, rather than discharge enlisted men who are out of employment or unable to pay; it sometimes results in the selection of officers who are able to "support the position," rather than of officers distinguished for ability or soldierly qualities.*

The Guard can never become an effective Reserve until these civil associations, with all their machinery and exactions, are abolished and the Guard put upon a strictly military basis. This could be done were the means to pay all lawful and necessary expenses provided by the Government, and were officers and men paid a small sum for their services, regiments, troops and batteries being allowed to deduct from such pay fines for delinquencies, and turn these fines over to their respective disbursing officers. The pay need not be large in amount, and it is not proposed that this peace-pay should be allowed in time of war. The allowance of such pay would in every way elevate and stimulate the Guard. It is not that the Guard desires, or needs so much, the amount paid; but the payment would be regarded by officers and men as evidence of the appreciation of their services.

By deducting from the pay any fines for delinquency, the tendency of enlisted men to absent themselves from drills without good cause could be corrected. Absences are now frequently excused upon the theory that a man makes nothing by attendance and is often caused great loss. But if a man is paid for attendance and can suffer loss only if absent, he cannot complain if the sum

*These observations do not apply to several wealthy and self-supporting organizations in New York City, Massachusetts and the South.

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due him is withheld. Were peace-pay allowed, each officer and man would have on pay day a sum to his credit against which could be charged the cost of military property lost or ruined while in his possession. This is not the case at present. Thousands of articles of uniform and equipment are annually lost or ruined, and the loss is usually borne by the unhappy officers, who often replace new missing articles with second-hand articles.

Bad as it is, the system of civil organizations is founded on a sound principle—that of no taxation without representation. Under the present system of payment of the expenses of the Guard, each soldier is a partner with the people, and naturally asks a partner's rights. It is perfectly just that he should have them. But it is preposterous that such principles should be at the very basis of a military system. There can be no proper discipline, no subordination or respect for superiors, in an organization in which the commanding officer and the private are business partners in the business of carrying on that organization.

III. The National Guard, reorganized as a National Volunteer Reserve, should be composed of Permanent Forces, stationed at schools of instruction, and the Active Reserve stationed at armories; and facilities for obtaining practical and theoretical instruction should be provided by the Government at schools of instruction, and staff colleges, through instruction by officers of the Army detailed to specific organizations, and through field service and manœuvres.

The Secretary of War should establish, in each military district, at a post or fort of the United States, a School of Instruction for officers and non-commissioned officers. To each school should be attached a corps of instructors detailed from among the officers or retired officers of the Army, or Volunteers. The officers at such schools, together with members of the Reserve specially enlisted for the purpose, should form a Permanent Corps at each school.

Appointment as a student at a School of Instruction should be made a reward of merit. The Adjutant-General of a Military District should annually publish in General Orders the names of officers and men appointed students for the ensuing year, adding commendation of the manner in which the appointees have performed their duties. No person should be appointed who has not been enlisted or commissioned for at least one year, and the

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preference should be given to those with the longest service to their credit. After accepting appointments, students should be entitled to wear on the sleeve of the uniform coat the coat-of-arms of the United States or some other distinguishing badge. Students and members of the Permanent Corps at each school should, while in attendance, receive the same pay as officers and men of the Army; provided that they should be paid for each day of actual attendance, not by the month or week. Men of the permanent force should remain permanently at the fort or post, but students should not be required to attend continuously.

Staff Colleges may be considered a necessity. The staff officers of the Guard have generally been considered less efficient than those of the Line on account of lack of facilities for practical training in service. A Staff College should, therefore, be established at the Headquarters of each Military District, or at designated Military Posts of the Army in each Department. All staff officers of brigades, divisions and Army Corps of the Reserve should be required to attend at a Staff College for a stated period in each year.

All officers of the Army at present acting as Instructors in Schools or Military Colleges, and such other officers as the Secretary of War may detail, should be detailed to duty with the reorganized Guard, as instructors and officers. It is the experience of National Guard and Volunteer officers that the time spent in instructing boys in "Military Academies" or cadet organizations has been time wasted. The best results can be obtained by assigning officers to duty with specified organizations, not with the Headquarters of a State or District. Officers of the Army can acquire a knowledge of the special needs and temperament of volunteers only by taking an active part in the drills, instruction and social life of specific organizations.

Officers of the Army detailed to regiments of the Reserve, and appointed by the colonels thereof upon regimental staffs, would obtain an intimate knowledge of their regiments and would have authority to make suggestions, correct faults and instruct officers and men. There should therefore be attached to the staff of each regiment of the Reserve an officer, or retired officer, of the Army designated "Inspector," and with rank and pay during service with the Reserve of one grade higher than his Army grade.

Such Inspector should preside at Schools of Instruction and

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Boards of Examination, should give to the officers of the regiment in council his criticisms of drills and the condition of books and papers, and should be permitted to suggest any drills, lectures or courses of instruction which in his judgment are necessary. He should have quarters assigned to him in the armory of the regiment to which he is detailed. He should be assisted by non-commissioned officers of the Army designated "Sergeant Instructors" and attached to the non-commissioned staff. These should serve as armorers and janitors of armories.

There should be little difficulty in doing away with the present system of Camps of Instruction and substituting therefor practice marches and field manœuvres. The drill schedule might, with advantage, include, in May, out-door drills on Saturday afternoons, by company, companies marching to and from drill-ground; in June, practice marches from Friday afternoon to Monday morning, by battalion; in July, practice marches of one week by regiment; in September or October, field exercises by brigade.

Practice marches would not only be of great practical value in familiarizing officers and men with road-marching, but would also, by familiarizing the people with the soldiery, aid recruiting and foster a spirit of pride in our Volunteer Reserve. It is an almost invariable experience that, when a body of troops, Regular or Volunteer, marches through outlying country districts in this country, their march soon becomes a sort of triumphal progress, and that recruiting in those districts is stimulated.

IV. The National Guard reorganized as a Volunteer Reserve should not be required to perform military service without the boundaries of the United States; nor should any Army Corps be required to perform service without the Army Corps District in which it is raised.

Members of the National Guard are business men and professional men dependent upon civil occupations for their livelihood and that of their families. It is wholly unreasonable to expect them to sacrifice their business interests, and inflict hardships upon their creditors and families by abandoning business to go with their organizations to different points in America or foreign countries. A citizen-soldier has never been required or expected in any land, at any time, to do this; but here a member of the National Guard is goaded by a perverted public sentiment into doing something which common sense tells him is wrong.

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Many citizens feel deeply the injustice of the present system of transforming the National Guard into United States Volunteers, and if members of the Guard they take out their discharges as soon as they can do so with honor; if not in the Guard, they decline to enlist, and a struggle to obtain recruits is constantly in progress. There should be no difficulty in obtaining a million men as recruits from a male population of militia ages which in 1890 was 13,230,168, and is now much larger. As it is, only one recruit for 2,566 inhabitants is obtained annually for the Guard, and the recent war has shown that in seventy-five cases out of a hundred the recruit thus obtained is not one who will be accepted by an Army surgeon. If we are to have a National Volunteer Reserve, we must obtain recruits, and if we are unable to induce citizens desirable as recruits to enlist if the nature of the contract we ask them to make is not to their liking, we can do only one thing—namely, offer a contract which they will make.

V. The National Guard system of drill and instruction should be so modified that the interest of the enlisted man in his work shall be increased, and that officers and men may familiarize themselves with the duties that they may be required to perform in the field in the time of war.

The National Guardsman of the present day is much more efficient when in State service than when in the service of the United States. And this is so because in time of peace he comprehends why he receives an order, and he obeys it understandingly. The drill programme, the ceremonies, the rifle practice, the camp duty are, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unchangeable. Every duty is prescribed in orders with minute exactness. But when the Guardsman becomes a Volunteer, the conditions are different. The soldier must obey blindly, without knowing or asking reasons for orders; he must be prepared to do things he has not been warned he is to do; he must drill and fight with men he never saw, and obey orders he does not understand. He does not do so cheerfully, for a volunteer is a "thinking bayonet," and his hesitancy is a bad fault. But he is not as much to blame as the system which has made him what he is, a victim of "the eternal fours right."

The system of instruction adopted generally in the Guard is one which is monotonous and uninteresting.

At the beginning of each drill season the average company

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goes back to the A B C of drill, and, no matter how many experienced men may be in the ranks, becomes for the time being a recruit squad. Evening after evening, week after week, is devoted to drill in the manual of arms, and simple movements; and three months pass before extended order drill or battalion drills are taken up. But there is little instruction in the duties of guards and sentinels; none whatever, except in rare instances, in pitching or striking tents, or cooking. The marching is all done on a smooth armory floor. Few captains can spare time for setting-up drill or physical exercise drill. When summer comes and organizations go to camp, little difference is made in the drill programme.

Many States permit recruits to go to camp, and they must be instructed. Accordingly, the company drills and battalion drills, in close and extended order, are resumed. Guard duty now receives much attention, and there are guard mounts and dress parades every day. But the course of instruction is otherwise much the same as when the men are in armories in winter. The result is that men who have drilled year after year become wearied and disgusted; and only a strong sense of duty forces them to attend drills and camp regularly. They are eager and willing to learn something new. There are few Guardsmen who do not wish to know how to pitch and strike wall and conical tents, draw rations and cook them, march on the road with advance and rear guards, throw out outposts and pickets, and construct hasty entrenchments. But they are seldom permitted to know much about these subjects. Even rifle practice is frowned upon.

Evening drills should be restricted to such drills as are necessary in order to give recruits, squads of recruits and the company a thorough knowledge of elementary principles. In weather when out-door marching is possible without acute discomfort, the company or battalion should be marched four or five miles in the open air, in order that the men may be taught to have on hand their campaign outfit, may learn to march carrying loads properly adjusted, and may be relieved from the monotony of continual drill in a large room. Every evening drill should include (1.) *fifteen minutes of physical exercise drill, without blouses, caps or* braces (if drill be held in an armory); (2.) fifteen minutes of drill in aiming and position, and the loadings and firings. Battalion and regimental drills in armories should not be

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attempted. Even in the largest armories, there is not sufficient room to exercise an entire battalion of four companies of about one hundred each. The proper distances and intervals cannot be preserved, and officers and men become accustomed to make errors, which they are required and ordered to make in armories to conform to circumstances.

In good weather there should be a "march out" at least once a month, companies first marching out one by one, and subsequently battalions and the regiment. In spring and summer, when ordinarily there is little work in armories, organizations in cities and towns should take turns in performing the ceremony of evening parade on Saturday afternoons in some suitable place, thus providing a spectacle which would please and interest both the public and the men, and make a "demonstration" of strength and efficiency. A parade in a park or boulevard at sunset on Saturday could be witnessed by nearly all workingmen, and would be considered by them a concession to the demand, perhaps a just one, that the State or Government should do something to make life pleasant for the poorer class.

Battle exercises and manœuvres on a large scale should be attempted more frequently, troops marching to and from the ground, and remaining out of the armory at least two days, subsisting themselves in the same manner as when on the march in the field. It is on these occasions that battalion drills and regimental drills should occur, varied ground being used, and full campaign equipment being carried.

"To have men walk once or twice a year over a range and fire one shot at each halt, consumes time and ammunition without teaching them anything," General Wingate remarks. The same is true of taking men to a range once or twice a year and ordering them to fire ten shots at targets at known distances. And it is absurd to say that any distance is "unknown" on a range where those who shoot are familiar with every stake, tree and landmark. But as Guardsmen or Reservists must of necessity practice on ranges, the conditions of shooting in battle should be simulated as far as possible. If, as General Wingate suggests, a canvas target simulating men advancing were mounted on wheels and drawn toward the firing point, on a railway, by a wire rope, those firing would really fire "at unknown distances," as in war, and would learn to adjust sights quickly and aim properly.

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VI. Inspections should be made quarterly, without more than forty-eight hours' notice, by a disinterested officer of the Army.

Inspection in the National Guard has hitherto, in a majority of the States, been made by an officer of the State or Brigade staff, who has given timely notice of his intention to inspect. At once, every officer, however apathetic at any other time, has bestirred himself; ascertained the whereabouts of missing men, and urged them to be present; inspected uniforms and equipments and had them put in order; replaced missing articles, and put in order company books and papers. The inspector comes and finds the organization in a better state than it has been in at any time during the year, or is likely to be at any time until his next appearance. He musters the men and counts them, makes a rapid and perfunctory examination of uniforms, arms and equipments, glances at books and papers, verifies the property accounts and is satisfied.

Such an inspection necessarily fails entirely to reveal the actual state of an organization as it is for twelve months in the year. Nor do the inspections frequently made in camp by Army officers enable them to ascertain all they desire to know regarding an organization. Both at camp and at annual inspection an organization is "on its good behavior." It has been warned it will be watched and inspected, and acts accordingly.

Not more than forty-eight hours' notice of intention to inspect should be given; and, upon service of notice by a proper officer, commanding officers should be required to deliver immediately to such officer the books and papers of the organization, in order that no changes may be made therein previous to inspection.

The work of inspection should be divided up in the following manner: In winter, at the armory, there should be inspection of quarters, property, books, papers and accounts, examination of officers sent up for examination, and medical examination of recruits; in spring, at a rifle range, inspection of small-arms practice, of drills in school of the soldier and company, and of campaign uniform and equipment; in summer, in the field, inspection of drills in school of battalion, of evolutions of regiment and extended order on varied ground, of guard and outpost duty, and proficiency in cooking, pitching and striking camp, sanitary precautions, etc.; in autumn, in the field, inspection of marching

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in a march of five hours, with formation as in an enemy's country, of proficiency in entrenching, and provisioning of troops in the field.

A regiment should be graded not according to its ability to produce one hundred per cent. of its men at inspection, or to present those men clean and well-disciplined, but according to (1.) the condition of books, papers, quarters and uniforms; (2.) drill of officers and men; (3.) proficiency in small-arms practice, and (4.) proficiency in cooking and duties of the soldier in the field.

VII. The Light Artillery of the Guard should be reorganized as machine-gun Artillery and regiments of the infantry should be reorganized as Garrison or Heavy Artillery.

Now that it has been conclusively shown by Lieutenant John H. Parker, U. S. A., that machine guns may successfully participate in a charge on a well-fortified position held by a superior force of veteran troops armed with modern rifles, in the words of Lieutenant Parker, "a new arm of the service is created." While this statement is true, as far as the Army is concerned, it is not quite correct. For the National Guard has for many years evinced a decided preference for machine guns, and many batteries have been wholly or partially armed with these weapons. The "new arm of the service" has already been created in the Guard, and should be maintained.

While, in order to render a National Guard battery effective, large sums must necessarily be expended for guns, equipment and horse-hire, it is a question whether the results obtained would justify the expenditure. On the other hand, "machine-gun sections" of "Gatling batteries" have become remarkably proficient.

If the Volunteer Army is to become an Army for national *defense,* its first and most important duty will be to man seacoast fortifications, where at present the entire United States force of artillery is not sufficiently large to furnish one relief of the three which would be required for the batteries in time of war, nor even large enough to keep the guns and other property in good order and repair. The duties of the Army Heavy Artillery will in war devolve almost immediately upon the Volunteer Artillery. But gunnery is a science, and the care and use of modern high-power, large-calibre guns require a skill which cannot be acquired in a week or a month. Volunteer artillerists should therefore be secured, organized and trained without delay. The

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lead of Massachusetts and New York in this respect should be followed.

VIII. The Military Staffs of Civil Governors should be abolished and their duties should be performed by staffs of Military District Commanders of the Volunteer Reserve.

Much of the inefficiency of the Guard has been charged to the fact that the responsible duties of Staff Departments have been committed to men appointed from civil life for political rather than military reasons, and whose term of office was that of the appointing Governor, and who consequently could never acquire a thorough knowledge of their duties.

Remedies for other defects have been suggested, and it remains only to urge the need for immediate action. The Secretary of War has already called attention in his annual report to the fact that the law requires the reduction of the Army to its former strength during the next year. If such reduction is made the nation will be facing a most serious problem: that of defending home territory, pacifying and holding outlying possessions, and upholding the national prestige of the United States as "a great Power," with a handful of soldiery—with one Army Corps.

A demand for organization of an effective Volunteer Reserve will then unquestionably be made. Is it not well to anticipate that demand, and at the same time to guard against the natural and justifiable objections of the National Guard to being superseded or disbanded, by beginning at once the work of transforming the Guard, the material at hand, into an effective Reserve? No question before the people deserves more earnest consideration, and more energetic action by the Congress, than this.

CHARLES SYDNEY CLARK.

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THE BRITISH VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

BY THE RT. HON. EARL BROWNLOW, FORMERLY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

THE early years of this century found England in the possession of a large body of volunteers. They were not a part of the permanent military organization of the country, but were raised in a hurry, and for a special purpose, and were only intended to meet a sudden emergency. At that period, Napoleon I. had massed a great army at Boulogne in sight of the British coast; but the British cruisers held the Channel, and day after day and month after month passed, until the naval battle of Trafalgar put an end forever to his ambitious dream of the conquest of England. It was to meet this contingency that the Volunteers of 1803 were raised, and the danger having been averted, they were disbanded and never brought together again.

With the organization and efficiency of this force, this article is in no way concerned, and it is only mentioned here to explain that volunteering for defense of the country is no new idea, but that the volunteers of 1803 have no relation to those of 1858. They served their purpose; they came together to the number of 463,000 men, and when the emergency ceased, they died out and disappeared.

They seem to have incurred at that time a certain amount of "chaff" on account of their somewhat crude ideas of military duties, and it is said that one regiment having repeatedly pointed out to Mr. Pitt that they only volunteered to repel invasion, and were on no account to be sent out of the country, he replied that he would promise not to send them away "except in the case of invasion."

There is, however, one volunteer corps—the Honorable Artillery Company of the City of London—which is quite excep-

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tional. It dates from the time of Henry VII., at which period it wore a picturesque dress, had nothing to do, and "did it very well;" and it consists of artillery, cavalry and infantry. It is not a "company" in the military sense, but has many of the attributes of the City of London companies, and has property and funds of its own.

This ancient corps has its counterpart in the Honorable Artillery Company of Boston in the United States, the members of which some time ago visited London and received a cordial welcome as a link between the Old and the New Worlds.

Until 1858, the Honorable Artillery Company was the only old-established Volunteer Corps. At that time, the country was thirsting for peace and rest. The Crimean War had disclosed a state of military disorganization in the army which had caused misery and disaster to the troops during the war, and it was felt that only the bravery and pluck of the officers and men had saved the country from actual defeat; but when peace with Russia had been obtained, no time was given for reorganization. The Indian mutiny, following on the heels of the Crimean War, called forth all the resources of the Empire; but, when tranquillity was again restored, the public mind once more turned to the contemplation of army reform.

The opportunity seemed favorable. The Emperor of the French was in close alliance with England, and we were at peace with all European nations. There was no cloud upon the political horizon, and there seemed every prospect that this happy condition of things would be lasting.

At that moment, a bolt from the blue—as far-reaching as it was unexpected—spread dismay throughout Europe. On January 14th, 1858, an Italian, named Felice Orsini, attempted the life of the Emperor Napoleon III. by throwing a bomb under the carriage containing the Emperor and Empress as it was drawing up at the door of the opera house; and although the intended victims escaped unhurt, the missile spread destruction all round the spot where the outrage was committed.

It soon became known that the would-be assassin had hatched his conspiracy and manufactured his bombs in England; and, in the excitement that ran like wildfire through the French army, a hundred French colonels signed a petition to the Emperor, praying him to put himself at their head and lead them against

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"Perfidious Albion." It was not certain whether the Emperor would be able to resist the pressure thus put upon him, and the ugly fact of a possible invasion of our coasts stared us in the face. It was felt that our army—most of which was abroad—was inadequate to cope with the large forces which were at the disposal of France, if they should once gain a footing on our shores, and excitement little short of panic ensued.

The people of England demanded arms that they might at least make a stubborn resistance, and the volunteer force of Great Britain sprang into life.

In its infancy its constitution was hardly worthy to be called "organization." A large number of enthusiastic civilians of all classes enrolled themselves under officers who, for the most part, had little or no military training, and drilled and equipped themselves in isolated companies. All worked with an energy which only determination, coupled with a grave sense of danger, could inspire. Drill went on in every town in England and Scotland; rifle butts were hastily erected, and the first rudiments of shooting were taught by sergeant-instructors from the regular army. But in spite of all this activity the volunteer army was a mere "crowd of men with muskets," without transport, without battalion formation, and with only one suit of clothes apiece; and with such a force the only rôle assigned to them was to rush to meet the enemy, to line the hedges and walls in inclosed country; to worry and annoy the invaders in every possible way, and to die fighting to the last in order that the regular army and the militia might gain time to assemble and make their dispositions for defense. The action of the French *franc-tireurs* in the Franco-Prussian War shows how much may be done by such means. While matters were in this state, the scare which had created the volunteer force came to an end as suddenly as it had arisen. Napoleon III., loyal to his alliance with England, succeeded in quieting his excitable colonels, and the danger of immediate invasion was averted.

The volunteers now entered upon the most critical period of their whole history. The officers of the regular army looked upon them as almost useless, and either gave them good-natured but half-hearted support, or advocated their being disbanded altogether; for the British officers of that day believed only in long-service troops, drilled with all the precision of machines;

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controlled when in barracks with an iron discipline, and perfect in parade movements. The country would not hear of conscription; the army would not hear of short service. So for years nothing was done to reorganize the army, and the volunteers were left to live or die in an atmosphere of neglect or ridicule.

A slight advance was made by the scattered companies being formed into provisional battalions for purposes of drill, and being given a retired officer or militia officer as adjutant; and as they marched through the streets headed by the band, a crowd of street urchins ran beside them shouting such ribald cries as "Who shot the dog?" "How are yer poor feet?" and (to the mounted officers), "How much an hour for yer horse, gov-'nor?" And when the battalion had reached its drill ground and deployed into line, the gamins formed line opposite to them, waiting, like the French line at Fontenoy, for the English to fire first. Then, as the rattle of the locks proclaimed the volley which terminated the "platoon" exercise, they fell down with shrieks and groans, and writhed in simulated agony of death on the battlefield, while the lookers on shouted with laughter at the performance.

When the parade was dismissed each individual volunteer went home in a storm of chaff, and the clever pencil of John Leech made fun of them in "Punch." How they survived this ordeal seems now a miracle; but survive it they did, and set to work with a will to increase their efficiency.

It is obvious that an armed man—whether regular soldier or volunteer—is of little value for fighting purposes, unless he can shoot fairly well with a rifle; and the volunteers, recognizing this fact, proceeded at once to establish a shooting organization throughout the country. The centre and head of this organization was, and is, the National Rifle Association, which held its meetings at Wimbledon until they were transferred to Bisley.

In every county or district, an association was formed under "Wimbledon Rules," which held its meetings once a year, and battalion and company meetings also offered a chance of winning prizes to those who were not sufficiently expert in the use of the rifle to compete at Wimbledon. Thus an inducement was given to every volunteer to practice rifle shooting, in addition to the class firing ordered by the volunteer regulations.

The artillery have an association of their own called the

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National Artillery Association, which is quite separate from the National Rifle Association, and holds its meetings at Shoeburyness. It works on strictly military lines, and forms a camp where the mounting and dismounting of heavy guns, etc., as well as target practice, is a part of the regular training.

This, briefly, is the organization which, with some alterations and improvements, has continued to the present day.

The first meeting at Wimbledon opened on July 2, 1860, when Queen Victoria fired the first shot, with a rifle fixed in a rest and laid by the most experienced rifle-shot of the day, and the "bull's-eye" flag went up amidst the cheers of a large crowd of spectators. To promote shooting at moving objects, a life-sized stag made of iron was mounted on a small railway, and ran down an incline on one side of the range, and nearly to the top of the incline on the other side, on the principle of a switchback railway, the shot having to be fired between two white posts, thirty yards apart. Sir Edwin Landseer, the celebrated animal painter, drew the stag life-size, and this splendid sketch and the "Queen's" target are preserved by the National Rifle Association as their two most valued treasures.

In the year 1883 a team of the American National Guard came over to England to shoot against an English volunteer team. At the beginning of the match, the visitors gained a considerable lead; but at the long ranges the English team not only wiped out their loss, but succeeded in securing a hard-fought victory. In the evening both teams dined with the president of the National Rifle Association, on which occasion there were present Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Teck, the Duke of Teck, and the Hon. J. R. Lowell, the Minister of the United States in England. After dinner the rule of the association that no speeches are to be made was so far relaxed as to allow of the health of the American team being proposed by the president; and Mr. Lowell, in returning thanks for his countrymen, made one of those short and happy speeches which did so much to promote a cordial feeling between the two nations. He said on this occasion: "May God grant that in all rifle competitions between the two nations, all the rifles may always be pointed the same way"—a sentiment cordially echoed at the present day on both sides of the Atlantic.

Englishmen noted with interest during the late war of the

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United States with Spain, the readiness with which volunteers came forward in large numbers and at very short notice to serve their country. English volunteers in particular observed with admiration their cheerful endurance of thirst, hunger and privations of all sorts, in occasional circumstances of peculiar hardship.

That they should show courage in the field was taken for granted; but that with such short training, and in spite of hasty and, in certain cases, inadequate equipment, these citizen soldiers should develop such splendid qualities of discipline, self-restraint and self-reliance was the subject of much and hearty praise among English military critics.

The system pursued by the National Rifle Association has worked well, and although it is described as "pot-hunting" by those who wish to decry it, it has produced many first-rate shots, and may fairly claim to have carried out the object for which it was formed.

It would be impossible in the limited space of a magazine article, and would be tedious to the general reader, to treat in detail of the improvements in organization which have been carried out, from time to time, in the volunteer force; but a few words on the present state of the force may not be out of place.

The battalions are now united into brigades, commanded by brigadiers who have most of them served in the regular army, assisted by brigade majors, who are all retired officers, and a sufficient staff. These brigades assemble yearly in camp, and when at Aldershot or any other military centre come under military law, and take part in field days with the regular troops. The men learn all the duties of camp life; to pitch and strike tents, to cook and to make themselves at home in camp. A hearty and cheerful spirit animates all ranks, and the men look upon the annual training in camp in the light of a holiday, and are cheerfully prepared to perform readily all the various duties in return for the change of scene and work, and amusement and relaxation after the parades are over for the day.

As to their fighting qualities, it can only be said that they have never been tested, but there is no reason to believe that they would fight with less pluck and determination than any other men of the Anglo-Saxon race. In case of emergency, they would fight in their own country for all they hold most dear, and history has proved over and over again that men fighting under these cir-

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cumstances are not to be despised, even by the best-disciplined and most highly trained troops. As regards "discipline," that word which may mean so much or so little, it must be remembered that the average volunteer lives a disciplined life. He is not a raw boy taken from the ploughshare, nor is he a young man of fast habits who has got into some minor scrape; but he is a respectable tradesman or superior mechanic, who has a character to lose, and I have myself seen a man, when brought up for judgment in camp, tremble and turn pale at the thought of being dismissed from the service, or sent out of camp in disgrace, which, when not camped with regular troops, is the only punishment the commanding officer has power to inflict.

Such a man returns to his native town or village with a mark against him. He gets "chaffed" by the men, and—what is more important—is despised by the women. It is known that he has failed to acquit himself with credit in a duty which he has voluntarily undertaken to perform, and he has to bear the consequences.

From want of experience a volunteer sentry will, from time to time, present arms to a showy uniform, and a smart non-commissioned officer of cavalry in full uniform will receive greater honor than a general in a blue coat; but this comes from want of knowledge of details, and not from want of discipline.

A simple and practical form of drill has been introduced, which is far better suited to the volunteers than the slow, antiquated drill of thirty years ago. It is easily and rapidly acquired, and thus time is available for the teaching of outpost duty, advance and rear guards, and many other details of which in their infancy the volunteers were profoundly ignorant. The officers of the new school now at the head of the army, who no longer cling to old traditions because they were good enough in their youth, recognize that modern weapons have altered the conditions of warfare, and have long ago discarded the drill of the time of the Duke of Wellington, who for many years opposed the introduction of the percussion musket because he said "the men would fire away their ammunition too quickly." The volunteers are now recognized as an integral part of the defenses of the country, and in consequence panic from fear of invasion is now unknown. The necessity for conscription, which is hateful to the country, and now only exists in a very mild and

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modified form in the militia ballot act, which is never carried out, has been averted, and it is therefore fair to claim that the volunteers carry out in an adequate measure the purpose for which they were raised, and England sleeps the sounder for the knowledge that the manhood of the population is armed for her defense.

There is, however, another important advantage which has been gained for the country. In old days the average villager had no idea of the duties of a soldier, whose occupation was described as "being shot at for a shilling a day," and a story is told of a mother parting from her son, who had enlisted, saying to the recruiting sergeant: "How many hours a day will the poor lad have to fight, Mr. Soldier?" The idea existed that the soldier's time was divided betwen fighting and debauchery, and the enlistment of a son was looked upon as a family disgrace. Many villagers never saw troops under arms in their whole lives, and the soldier and civilian were as much separated as if they were different races. This feeling is growing less and less yearly, and there is every hope that it will die out in the near future. This improvement is partly owing to amelioration in the condition of the soldiers, and the care shown for their welfare by the authorities in modern days; but it is also due to the fact that civilians are now able to give some attention to, and gain practical knowledge of, military affairs by means of volunteering. They wear a uniform, and are proud of it; they come into contact with regular troops in military centres, and make friends with the men and learn from them the details of military life. Tommy Atkins is delighted to make friends with the volunteer, and the volunteer takes a military pride in "chumming" with Tommy Atkins, and thus they gain a mutual respect and regard for each other.

The days are long passed when the volunteers were alternately inflated by exaggerated praise or depressed by scorn and ridicule. They have taken their place as auxiliary to the regular army, anxious only to prepare themselves for the duties which would be assigned to them in case of emergency, and desiring to act up to their motto of "Defense, not defiance."

BROWNLOW.

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